

Rural Development and Elite Participation

A Socio Political Study of Two Villages in West U. P.

**A THESIS SUBMITTED
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**by
ASHUTOSH SAXENA**

**TO THE

DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY KANPUR**

AUGUST 1986

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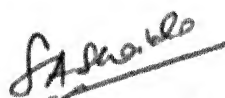
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADO	Agricultural Development Officer
ANM	Auxiliary Nurse and Midwife
BDO	Block Development Officer
CBR	Crude Birth Rate
CD	Community Development
CHW	Community Health Worker
DAEO	District Adult Education Programme
DPAP	Drough Prone Area Programme
GVB	Grameen Vikas Bank
HVY	High Variety Yields
IMR	Infant Mortality Rates
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
KGB	Kisan Grameen Bank
LDB	Land Development Bank
MFDA	Marginal Farmers Development Agency
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
NDC	National Development Council
PEO	Programme Evaluation Organization
PNB	Punjab National Bank
RES	Rural Engineering Service
RRB	Regional Rural Bank
SBI	State Bank of India
SFDA	Small Farmers Development Agency
TRYSEM	Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment
VDO	Village Development Officer
WHO	World Health Organisation
χ^2	Chi Square
R^2	Multiple Regression

SYNOPSIS

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND ELITE PARTICIPATION: A SOCIO-POLITICAL STUDY OF TWO VILLAGES IN WEST.U.P.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Ashutosh Saxena to the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur, India.

Developmental planning in India has constantly focused on the upliftment and betterment of the rural poor since independence. Planners require information/feedback to monitor development programmes and to evolve better suited strategies. Developing knowledge about working of such schemes in hitherto less developed communities is a need of the behavioural scientists for theoretical reasons, too. A large number of studies have, therefore, been conducted in sociology of development which have shown that social factors play significant part in the overall developmental processes i.e., economic development is mediated by social structures. The present study of these social structures, and particular of the elite in the context of rural development is also a modest contribution in this direction.

The major objectives of the thesis are as follows: to study the socio-economic structure of the rural sample; to analyse the development status of the studied villages; identification of the rural elite; comparison between socio

economic status of the elite and the non-elite; to examine the patterns of relationships between the elite and the non-elite; to study the perception of the elite regarding rural development; and to assess their contribution in development.

This work enjoys evaluative-cum-exploratory type of research design. Two villages — one more developed and the other relatively less developed — were selected for the study. The villages were selected mainly on the basis of the following indicators: distance from city, road links, transport facilities, presence of PHC and school, availability of drinking water and type of housing. Each working head of the household was interviewed on census basis. In addition, data were also collected from secondary sources. Few case studies have also been conducted to supplement the statistical inferences drawn from the survey data. General statistical tools such as classification, means, Chi-square, Z-test, regression analysis, etc. have been used in the analysis.

The thesis starts with a theoretical model of development and elite participation which has been constructed on the basis of examination of the already available literature. The model shows that the rural society is rigidly stratified and the elite play positive, negative and neutral roles in development of the underdeveloped sections. But the change, accruing from their efforts, does not attack the very basis of stratification.

The survey was conducted in district Badaun which is one of the backward districts of west U.P. A geographical, administrative and social description of the sample district has been presented. IRDP and other development schemes are being operated in the district for a reasonably long time. The sample respondents have been classified according to their age, caste, religion, literacy level, landholding size, occupation and household size. Most of the respondents fall in the working age group 20-50 years and belong to Hindu religion. Local agricultural 'Maurya' caste is the numerically and economically dominant caste in the study villages. A significant proportion of respondents are landless and illiterate. They perceived many positive changes in the villages — acceptance of modern agricultural techniques, increased production, electrification, etc. — and their main problems were muddy roads; lack of drinking water; non-availability of medical, educational and transport facilities; increasing corruption; price-hike, etc. It was found that among all the prevalent schemes, 'loaning schemes' were most popular. A detailed analysis of the three development aspects — loaning, education, and health and family welfare — has been done. It has been observed that the number of actual loan beneficiaries is small — only 55. And scheduled caste, higher educated respondents, and those who have more land, have received more loans. Bribery, delay, delivery of

substandard material, complicated refunding process are found to be a few major problems facing the loan beneficiaries. Furthermore, age, education and landholding size of the parents are positively associated with school enrollment; and caste, and household size of the parents are negatively associated. There is a big gap between number of school-going-age children and actual number of school-attending children. Preferred educational levels for the children are higher than the actual ones. Expected benefits of education are: development of consciousness, better employment opportunities, contribution to modernization and agriculture, etc. The third investigated dimension of development — health and family welfare — is described to show the practices, knowledge and attitudes of the respondents. The data show that health facility was available in the village. Infant and child mortality rate is very high; and their incidence is higher among the lower sections than among the upper section. Most of the respondents were aware of some or other family planning method. Due to modernization, these days, people prefer allopathic system of treatment to other kinds of traditional treatments. Multiple regression model reveals that education is positively associated with the number of children; and age, caste, landholding and occupation are negatively associated. ..

Three kinds of elite — political, economic and educational — have been identified through "reputational"

and "positional" approaches. All the elite belonged to upper most stratum of the sample. Most of them had the capacity to educate their children upto higher level. Proportion of school going children belonging to this category is considerably high; and child and infant mortality among elite is lower. Finally, the relationships of the political, economic and educational elite with the commoners were analysed. On average, the elite had ordinary relations with the non-elite. Their level of relationship was positively associated with education, caste and land-holding of the non-elite. Contribution of elite in village matters was nominal to average. However, the political elite had contributed more in solving village problems than the other kinds of elite. There were a few respondents who were directly benefited through these elite. Majority of such beneficiaries belong to the better socio-economic crust of society. Despite this, it was interesting to find that a large number of respondents expect help from these elite. Political motivation among the elite was high. They are also engaged in money lending business and they charge high rate of interest on the loans given to the commoners.

Our findings show that the elite class has multiple roles in the village development — positive as well as negative. Positive roles are in the form of help in identification of beneficiaries; propagation of development schemes;

working as change agents; and giving a psychological support to the commoners. The negative roles of the elite are manifest expressions of their selfish nature to preserve their superior and influential positions. The present thesis implicates that development strategies will succeed only upto a certain limit in the existing social framework, if the strategies to modify the structures as such are not adopted as part of such programmes. Lastly, it suggests that the model used in the study is highly relevant; flows in the real life situation are observed to be quite similar to those shown in the model. However, the original research model that was rigid and that assumed that the position of elite vis-a-vis non-elite remains stable, needs to be modified because it could be said that this assumption is not always true; there is a possibility. — though not very significant — for the "non-elite" to become 'elite' that depends upon their motivations and achievements.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In recent times, there has been a quite revolution in some important branches of social sciences. Modern economics, for instance, is largely dependant upon Mathematics. Similarly Political Science - one of the oldest discipline of social sciences - can no longer speak for itself "unless it hires it's mouthpiece from sociology - which is only a little more than hundred years old" (Mukhopadhyay; 1977). During the Post- Second World War era, western scholars, especially American scholars, felt the need to give a sociological basis to political phenomenon. They searched the interpretation of political - behaviour in existing social factors. Bendix and Lipset wrote, "political science starts with the state and examines how it effects the society; while political sociology starts with the society and examines how it effects the state" (Bendix and Lipset; 1976). Soon political sociology emerged as an independent academic discipline during post- Second World War period; when there started a tendency among the American scholars specially to undertake empirical research of various political phenomenon with a touch of sociology in it. Being a product of technological age of 20th century that believes more in action than in abstract conceptualization, political sociology did not begin with theoretical formalities.

But gradually as this research field was enriched by newer ramifications the pioneers naturally felt the necessity of providing a general conceptual framework that would support their respective empirical works.

The research studies in the emerging field of political sociology are concerned with the working of various political and social institution including several types of governments, decision making processes, different ideologies and movements, dynamics of power and authority including elite and their role in social- structures, social development etc. However, the central phenomena in the study of Political Sociology is the analysis of power in the social- context. Further, to know about the ways the power operates; political sociology does not take into account only the mode of functioning of the formal organization of the state. In other words, political sociology never accepts power as the exclusive monopoly of the state. Instead it observes the operation of power in the very many primary and secondary group relations in the society and between these power relations, on the one hand and the power relation as manifest in the context of the working of state machinery, on the other, it sees no difference except that of a degree. The present work is an attempt to pursue further in the same direction. The study is focused on development processes at micro level and elite - interference in such processes.

The strategy adopted for this purpose is of evaluative type - it aims at examining the working of integrated developmental schemes in rural context.

In a developing country like India, social problems are increasingly recognized as affecting the entire community. Victims are not only those who are directly caught-up in the problems but other are also effected by these problems though indirectly. In general this represents a recognition that social institutions rather than individuals bear the major responsibility for the existence of social problems and that institutional reforms rather than individual changes in behaviour offers the better prospects for attacking the social- problems. In India, we find, thousands of crores of rupees, have been and are being spent in several developmental schemes with the aim of upliftment, welfare and betterment of poor, needy and weaker sections of society. Since 76.27% of the total population is rural based (Census of India; 1981) with more than 40% - below the poverty line, the main attention has been focused on development of rural poor sector. The questions that arise here are: (a) how far these policies have been successful in realizing their goals in true-sense? (b) what roles do elite play at various levels of these programmes? and (c) do the policies require formulation of new objectives and development of new criteria of effectiveness? As it can be seen, not only are the goals of public sector

programmes shifting, so is the nature of their organization and operation. The trend is towards broader community participation and responsibility.

Another important aspect in the development processes are the roles of intermediaries in the implementation of such schemes. These intermediaries may, broadly, be categorized into two: (a) formal intermediaries; and (2) informal intermediaries. Formal intermediaries are those concerned government officials who have been given responsibility of implementation of developmental policies. And, the informal intermediaries are those who have not been given any such formal responsibility - but due to social structure, hierarchy situation and also due to their own interests, they play significant roles in such processes. The implementation of developmental schemes without their involvement is not possible. These intermediaries, due to their privileged and dominant positions form an elite class. In Indian democratic set up emphasis has been focused on decentralization of powers at grass root level - but decisions are infact enforced in vertical form, i.e., from higher to lower levels and there, the significance of elite at various levels in the implementation of development programmes becomes inevitable. If these development policies/programmes are adopted to march towards equal opportunity for all, towards social and economic justice - would elite class be proved a helping hand or hinderance?

Another interesting aspect, in this context, is the changing behaviour of this elite class in response to modernizing-commoners.

There is an increased public expectation of bigger and better services. Several state agencies, voluntary-organizations and academics are interested in understanding the socio-political processes at work. In course of evaluating the success or failure of these programmes and knowing about how and why a programme works or does not work, a large number of issues come up - which need sociological explanation and academic consideration. Here we are concerned mainly with elite's participation in rural development.

Elite represent that strata of society - which enjoy better socio-economic - political status and due to their privileged position, they dominate the decision-making processes. No matter how one defines or reflects at the status of elite, their very presence in society entails stratification. In fact, inequality and relative poverty exist only because there are higher - lower, rich and poor existing side by side.

In this context first there is a need to review the existing literature on elite. The theoretical and conceptual understanding of elite will not only throw light on the elite and non-elite relations but will also provide the theoretical explanations for the causes of unbalanced distribution of

growth in society. Elite as a rule constitute a relatively superior and influential social class. The roots of emergence and persistence or change of elite lie in the fundamental framework of social- stratification. And focus on various aspects social inequality becomes an integral part of any study on elite. Therefore an attempt is made here to throw light on the concept of inequality in the context of elite- non-elite situation, that is, in presence of rigid division of society into several hierarchical social groups.

Further, the concepts of social stratification, poverty and elite are highly overlapping concepts; there is no rigid difference between them, differences in their uses exist mainly in the context in which they are used. Whereas social stratification is used to stress on the sociological dimension of the problem, poverty is employed by economists to indicate inequality in distribution of income - often producing situation of abject poverty in which people are unable to satisfy their basic minimum needs and elite concept exist mainly in the kit of political sociologists who wish to emphasise inequality in social power.

The present chapter, in the following sections, starts with the concept of inequality - which has been reviewed through non-sociological and sociological view points. This section is followed by the concept of poverty. Concept of

elite is reviewed thereafter. The chapter ends with presentation of objectives of the thesis followed by discussion of conceptual model.

1.2 Concept of Inequality

Study of 'Inequality' occupies a central place in all social sciences. But the concept of inequality has been defined differently by different branches of social- sciences and by different theorists in the same branch. Basically the concept of inequality has its origin in the concept of equality — which is defined by Oxford English dictionary as the, "condition of having equal dignity, rank or privileges with others; the condition of being equal in power, ability, achievement or excellences; fairness, impartiality, equity and proportion and proportionateness" (international Encyclopedia of social sciences; 1968: 108). Opposite to this ideal of equality is obviously the concept of inequality, i.e., the absence of equality in dignity, rank or privileges with others; the absence of the condition of being equal in power, ability, achievement or excellence, partiality and disproportional distribution of assets. Defined in this manner, inequality is a universal, ubiquitous and a well recognized fact of each society. It is evident from the history of known societies that no society at any point of time was equal. Same thing is true about the contemporary

societies of all types — capitalist, socialist as well as mixed — in general, too. Inequality as it prevails in a society, has been studied in its various forms, e.g., natural inequality, inherent inequality, economic inequality, social inequality and several other kinds of inequalities. For convenience all kinds of such theories of inequality can be clubbed into two: (1) non-sociological theory of inequality; and (2) sociological theory of inequality. This classification is merely for convenience, though it is very difficult to put all theories into two watertight compartments.

1.2.1 Non-Sociological Theory

Non sociological theory of inequality lay emphasis on natural or individual factors. Philosophers, psychologists and few micro analysts belong to this school of thought. Some of the psychological factors like natural differentiations in human organisms, deprivations, lack of motivation and one's mental state produce multi-farious effects on the functioning and development of personality. Deprivation induces certain types of need oriented behaviour which are typical of deficient environment such as insecurity, anxiety, etc. which negatively effect the development of personality through a positive feedback cycle (Shanmugam; 1982).

Commenting on the inequality as a natural factor, the great Greek philosopher Aristotle wrote.

"It is clear that there are by nature free men and slaves and that servitude is agreeable and just for the latter. Equally, the relation of the male to the female is by nature such that one is superior and the other is inferior, one dominates and the other is dominated" (Aristotle; 1941: 1252).

Vilfred Pareto is also of the view that individuals are not intellectually, morally or physically equal and society can not be homogeneous. On the contrary it is composed of vastly social crossmixing in innumerable ways (Pareto; 1938) (details will follow latter in the section 1.4 on elite theory). Another political thinker and philosopher Rousseau pointed out that there are two kinds of inequalities - natural or physical and moral or political. First kind of inequality, i.e., natural or physical is due to individual factors. Human beings are markedly different physically and mentally since the hour of their birth, which creates inequality (Rousseau; 1948). But he added that the sociological component of inequality in his time is far greater than the natural or physical. Moreover the existing social conditions and prevailing inequalities induce many psychological changes in the personality of the individuals which incapacitate them in several significant ways. Now most western psychologists such as Gillin (1946) define poverty as a

'condition in which a person, either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure, does not maintain a scale of living high enough to provide for his physical and mental efficiency and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member'. The cause of this poverty is not the paucity of financial resources or crises of physical comfort, but their low-socio-economic status. These conditions adversely effect the intellectual, motivational and emotional aspects of its members (Kureshi and Hussain; 1983: 38). This view is also supported by Sinha. He writes, "it would be wrong to suggest that one is poor because of his psychological limitations and thereby providing a psychological justification of his poverty. The poor is certainly the victim of low socio-economic status, but it is also true that a life of poverty in its turn produces many psychological ill-effects rendering the individual incompetent to cope with his circle problems. A kind of vicious circle is created — economic and social factors generate poverty — which in turn makes the individual incapable of coping with poverty" (Sinha; 1983: 18). Factors like motivation, desire and capacity are posited to influence one's status in the society to a great extent and thus explain inequality among members of society (MacClelland; 1961:36). Thus we see that even today the idea

of non-institutional determinants of poverty survives, but it is justified by individual implications of institutional factors rather than by belief in racial, genetic or natural differences.

1.2.2 Sociological Theory of Inequality

The sociological theory of inequality is not concerned with physical or mental inequalities. The sociologists are more interested in describing and explaining the differences in life chances and life styles among people which result from the different positions they occupy in the society. The basic problem of the sociologists is to study certain structural phenomena such as class, status and power, which are found to exist in each society. Each society has its own characteristic pattern of stratification, and using this term in a broad sense an individual is born into a particular stratum and in most cases remains member of it for the rest of his life. In some cases he might move from one stratum to another, either upward or downward, but this in itself would not change the nature of the strata themselves or their mutual relations (Andre Beteille, 1983). Sociologists, on the basis of stratification and inequality theories can be grouped into two broad schools: functionalist school and conflict school. Functionalist tradition of inequality in modern times began mainly with an essay by Davis and Moore,

published in American Journal of Sociology in 1945. Davis and Moore sought to discuss stratification at an abstract level and reached the conclusion that social inequality is an unconsciously evolved device by which societies ensure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by most competent persons. In this sense stratification becomes a functional requirement for every society. The rewards in society are thus dependent upon two factors: (a) the functional significance of the role to society; and (b) the relative scarcity of qualified personnel. However, as the internal and external conditions of societies change, relative importance of the various functional roles and institutions also change — and this change is inevitable (Davis and Moore; 1945: 242).

The functional theory of stratification gained popularity rapidly, but soon it was subjected to various criticisms. A major challenge to this theory came from Tumin, who criticised the theory on various grounds and said that in addition to the functions proposed by Davis and Moore there are many dysfunctions which are more significant than the functions. According to him, social stratification system functions to limit the possibility of discovery of the full range of talents available in the society. Social-stratification also functions to set limits upon the

possibility of expanding the productive resources of the society, the system also functions to distribute favourable self-images unequally throughout a population and to the extent that inequalities in social rewards cannot be made fully acceptable to the less privileged section in a society, the social stratification system encourages hostility and limits the possibilities of existence of social-integration and, finally, social stratification leads to unequal distribution of the sense of significant membership, loyalty, and motivation to participation in a population (Tumin; 1953: 387-94).

Talcot Parsons is another great exponent of functionalist theory of stratification. For Parsons, one of the central tasks of sociology is to analyse society as a system of functionally interrelated variables. This means that the analysis of any social process is conducted as part of a study of a boundary - maintaining system. Parsons has also elaborated a set of functional prerequisites for all social systems, i.e., the conditions necessary for the operation of any system. In his views every system must have, in addition to specific norms, certain fundamental values which limit the range within which norms can develop. If it does not have these values, it is unlikely that personalities can successfully internalize the need to

conform or the motivations necessary for certain types of activity. Systems, therefore, see that these fundamental values become the part of personality. Parsons defines social stratification as the differential ranking of individuals who compose a given social- system and their treatment as superior and inferior relative to one another in respect of these socially important considerations (Parsons; 1949: 16). He opines that there are multiple bases of differential valuation which are by no means final and exhaustive but which have been found to be relatively concrete and useful. Firstly, there is the membership in a kinship unit — an aspect of differential status which is shared with other members of whatever rank in society — who are part of the effective kinship unit. Secondly, there are some personal qualities which are features of an individual and differentiate him from another individual and which may be referred to as a reason for rating him higher than the other, e.g., sex, age, personal beauty, intelligence, strength, etc. Thirdly, there is the achievement — which is the valued result of the action of an individual. Fourthly, there are possessions which are things, not necessarily material objects, belonging to an individual which are distinguished by the criterion of transferability. Fifthly, it is the authority which is an institutionally recognized right to

influence the actions of others, regardless of their immediate personal attitudes to the direction of influence — the kind and degree of authority exercised is clearly one of the most important basis of differential valuation of individuals. Lastly, power as a capacity to influence others and as an ability to achieve or to secure possession, is another important basis of stratification. The status of any individual in the system of stratification in a society may be regarded as a resultant of common-valuation underlying the attribution of status to him in each of the above respects (Parsons; 1949).

The other group of sociologists belong to the conflict tradition. This approach is based on the concepts of class and class conflict. The approach says that inequality is a historical factor and there is a continuous struggle among different social strata. Karl Marx may be considered to be the most significant theorist in the field of conflict tradition of stratification. Marx who is supposedly a mono-dimensional thinker considered that relations and forces of production in a society constitute the basic infrastructure on which other superstructures like social, political-cultural, legal, etc. are contingent. He maintained that stratification is determined by the system of relationships to the means of production, and the individual's status

is determined in terms of his relationship to the same. There are two basic classes in a society who engage in production together and whose interests are antagonistic. In a capitalist society they may be identified bourgeoisie and proletariat. Classes of petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, professionals, and of artisans, etc. are non-basic. Their members will with time, join one of the two classes and identify with the latter's interests. The bourgeoisie class is exploiter class because it owns means of production and expropriates surplus value, generated in the production process in which paid labour (variable capital) is made to yield unpaid labour (fixed capital). The wage workers are exploited, are more numerous and own nothing except their labour power to sell. They are alienated from means of production, result of production, and other workers, too. Marxian concept of class is based on dynamics of production relations, but it also provides explanation of social, political and psychological inequality. Marx's premise that men's actions, ideas, prestige and power are determined by the position they occupy in the social structure is a fundamental sociological discovery (Barbary: 1957: 53). In other words, Marx suggested that all other types of stratification, for example, the power and status stratification are the product of class stratification which produces them,

sustains them and, therefore, they cannot be eradicated without radical transformation of society (Bottomore; 1960: 13-35). Max Weber considered social inequality as an emergent of struggle for class, status and power (Weber; 1947). Weber argues that classes develop in market economies in which individuals compete for economic gains (Details on Weberian theory of stratification will follow in section (1.4), on concept of elite). In his analysis of class - Weber has parted company with Marx on a number of important issues. Firstly, factors other than the ownership or non-ownership of property are significant in the formation of classes. In particular, the market value of the skills of the propertyless varies and the resulting differences in economic returns are sufficient to produce different social classes. Secondly, Weber sees no evidence to support the idea of polarization of classes. Weber sees a diversification of classes and an expansion of the white collar middle class rather than polarization. Thirdly, Weber rejects the view held by some Marxists, of the inevitability of the proletarian revolution. He sees no reason why those sharing a similar class situation should necessarily develop a common identity, recognize shared interests and take collective action to further those interests. Finally, Weber rejects the Marxian view that political power necessarily derives from economic

power. He argues that class forms only one possible basis for power and that the distribution of power in society is not necessarily linked to the distribution of class inequalities (Haralambos; 1980). Dahrendarf, a significant theorist of post-Marxian conflict tradition shows that social stratification is based on relations of authority and not on relations of production necessarily and is expressed in a rank order of social status. Dahrendarf rejects the plea that private property, natural differences, occupational differences or functional requirements are the causes of social stratification. Rather, he proposes that the origin of inequality lies in the existence in all human societies of norms of behaviour to which sanctions are attached (Dahrendarf; 1959). However, norms as socially established values are not random - they are always selected from the universe of possible values by the dominant class. The conformists are rewarded and the deviants are punished. Authority and law are, in this sense, both necessary and sufficient conditions of social inequality. But authority is primary and law is rather secondary.

Since human society without norms, and consequently without inequality is not realistically possible, the complete abolition of inequality is therefore ruled out. The idea of perfectly egalitarian society, is terrible 'utopia', and the forever imperfect scheme for an uncertain

future. "It is the home of total terror or absolute freedom", says Dahrendarf (Dahrendraf; 1959).

Thus we find that there are a set of different theories explaining social inequality which attempt to locate the roots of inequality in the very working of social structure. Though they all differ in terms of the substantive questions; methodology and implications of social inequality, they all suggest that the proper unit of studying inequality in wealth, power and prestige is not individual. Rather it is the social class and therefore examination of inequality entails an extra individual examination of dynamic relationship between the social- classes into which larger society is divided. Even if the natural and psychological differences between the resourceful and non- resourceful groups are observed they reflect and more fundamentally' they are produced by the institutional processes.

1.3 Concept of Poverty

Since social inequality is ubiquitous and universal fact, sociological thinkers have defined, interpreted and explained the phenomenon in different ways; but all agree to one point that inequality is persisting due to unequal life-chances and life-styles and in economic terms due to the persistence of the poor and the non-poor simultaneously in society. Poverty is an extreme form of inequality. Poverty

and richness - the basic concrete form of inequality - are determined not only by economic factors like per capita income, growth rate, etc. only, but they are very much influenced and determined by social factors like education opportunities, caste-differences, population factors, etc., and by psychological factors, too. Poverty in turn determines the nature of society, it influences the consciousness of the people living in it and in fact determines the very fate of that society. Explanation and description of nature of 'poverty' is, therefore, a very important sociological task.

Poverty has always had several but not entirely separable meanings and is always defined according to the conventions of the society in which it occurs. For administrative reasons definitions may take the form of fixing an absolute criterion of poverty. According to International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, poverty can be classified into three broad categories: pauperisation, moral-poverty, and social poverty. Here, we are concerned with social poverty. Social poverty implies not only economic inequality (of property, income, living styles, etc.), but also social inequality, that is, a relation of inferiority - dependence or exploitation. In other words, it implies the existence of a social-stratum definable by, among other things, lack of wealth. But this is essentially a case of relative poverty (International

Encyclopedia of Social Sciences; 1968: 398). The relative definition of poverty has no connotation of a level of income that defines 'poverty line' absolutely. Rather it defines poverty as the state of being in the bottom percent of the relevant statistical distributions as of income, education, consumption, etc. If the concept of essential minimum of consumption is taken into consideration poverty line can be drawn and it will be a line which defines for over time and place something we may refer to as 'absolute poverty' (Hamilton; 1968). This social conception of poverty is identical to the concept of pauperization. Pauperism defines a category of people unable to maintain themselves at the level conventionally regarded as minimal, without outside assistance. And moral-poverty describes the place of poverty in the value system of a society or of its subgroups, i.e., it defines whether poverty is morally accepted and what status does it confer to a poor man or prevent the poor man from enjoying? In stratified societies several values of poverty will normally co-exist; for instance, it will be a shame or a punishment for sin for some, a cause of pride for others, or both at the same time (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences; 1968: 398). Poverty as a concept has also been classified into two as case - poverty and Insular-poverty (Galbraith; 1969: 275). It may be said that urban poverty is mostly a type

of case poverty, but the rural poverty is of insular type.

The existence of poverty, often argued, is also due to the phenomenon called 'culture of poverty.' Those who use the concept of culture of poverty hold that the poor share some distinctive patterns of values, beliefs and action and exhibit a style of life which departs significantly from that of the core-culture (Roach and Gursslin; 1969) — or the non-poor. The major source of such influence has been the studies showing that the poor tend to live in enclaves, have similar socio-economic characteristics and share a common set of life conditions. If the thesis of a culture of poverty is used as causal explanation — two essential conditions must present. The first condition is a demonstration that a culture of poverty is socially transmitted from one generation to other. The second condition concerns strength of the normative system of the poor. If it is claimed that the behaviour of the poor is primarily determined by the culture of poverty, then it must be demonstrated that this culture is a strong normative system. Lewis who has proposed concept of culture of poverty, has argued that the culture of poverty is different from the culture of affluence and to adopt the harsh realities of life the poor protects himself with a philosophy — which is characterised by fatalism, impulsiveness, present time orientation, inability to delay gratification, concrete as

opposed to abstract thinking, inferiority, aggression and authoritarianism (Lewis: 1966: 19-25).

Regarding the generation and persistence of poverty, different theorists give different explanations. They explain poverty as historical fact, functional - necessity, and also the product of natural and man-made inequalities. The functional necessity of poverty has been explained by Gans in one of his research paper (Gans: 1972: 275-89). He uses the Mertonian framework to explain the functions of poverty in American - society. His approach can as well be applied to Indian society. Poor have helped a lot in persistence and existence of rich class, establishment of institutions like police, courts, hospitals, .. maintenance and development of Indian civilization, culture and economic growth, etc. (Saxena: 1982). But poverty has some dysfunctions also which hamper development and growth of a nation. Poverty disturbs the law and order situation of the country; the dissatisfaction among poor lead to crimes, violence and other such anti-social activities. As Merton has pointed out,

"Persons who come from lower and lower middle class and are socialized with success accept the dominant values of the society, but when they do not find the legitimate means to achieve these values they become deviants" (Merton: 1949: 51).

Due to the economic deprivation among poor, conflict and gap between the rich and the poor will increase which will ultimately effect the growth of country. Poverty is also a danger on religious institutions. Today religious values have lost their importance for poor. It is mainly because of poverty that lot of 'conversions' take place. Poverty situation induces ill-health, high mortality, low nutritious food intake, etc. They lead to low productivity and unhealthy traditions in the society. Finally, poverty affects the feeling of national integration; the poor lack the sense of identify with national interests (Saxena; 1982). Marxian views on poverty indicate that capitalist - economic system is most dominant factor in the generation of poverty. Wealth is concentrated in the hands of few and 'these- few' own the forces of production. State- machinery in capitalist form of society serves the interest of ruling- rich class and government becomes an instrument through which they acquire more and more wealth. Thus all the concepts of welfare- states - in capitalist systems are only ostensive and do not truly serve the interests of larger poor sector. What such state give from one hand - takes from the other. Thus it is said, poverty exists because of the operation of a capitalist economic system which prevents the poor from obtaining the financial resources to become non-poor (Westergaard, and

Resler; 1976). Marxist analysts sees poverty resulting from the operation of a capitalist economy which produces a particular kind of social- stratification. Though Indian economic system is 'mixed' - having public and private sectors side by side. But most of the assumptions of capitalist - economic pattern can safely be applied to study Indian system in general and the conditions of the poor in particular.

Combining different dimensions of poverty together, Durfee, who explains the poverty concept in particular reference to American Society, has come up with a more syncretic concept of the phenomenon. Nevertheless his model can be generalised for less developed societies also (Durfee; 1970). He synthesises the concept of poverty in the following manner:

- (1) There are those who argue that poverty exists because there are some people in society who are too lazy or too lacking in character to take care of themselves.
- (2) There are others who argue that it is the result of historical or economic forces beyond the power of man to control.
- (3) There are others who see the roots of poverty in discrimination and argue that poverty exists because the well-to-do want it to exist.

(4) Some see it as the result of unwise actions that the government has taken.

(5) Finally, there are those who see it as different in every case and argue that we must look at the poor as individuals and find the unique set of causes for their poverty.

It is obvious here that Durfee, in first four points, has presented the concepts of case and insular poverty, functions of poverty for the elite, alienation of masses from state, and in fifth point, stressed need for studying poverty concretely without abstracting from the psychological and environmental factors.

1.4 The Concept of Elite

Different views on the nature, kinds, and genesis of poverty contribute to understanding the phenomenon of social stratification and help us to find out the general pattern. The concept of poverty in perview of stratification makes it clear that poverty exists only when there are rich and the vice-versa. Rich, are not only those who are economically better off, but they may be privileged also due to their caste, power, prestige, inheritance, etc. This privileged class as a whole can be termed as 'elite class' in the society. Therefore the explanation of social stratification, within particular reference of poverty remains an unfinished task

without proper description and analysis of elite theory, which causes the persistence of poverty in society. Long back in 6th century Greek philosopher Aristotle stated,

"Some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection - others for rule" (Aristotle; 1941: 1253 B).

Thus, for Aristotle, stratification and elite persistence are natural and inherent. Following the same line, a definite and systematic approach to elite comes out of the work of Pareto. Pareto defines a member of an elite group as one who secures the highest scores in any specified branch. Defining the term elite, he writes,

"Let us assume that in every branch of human activity each individual is given an index which stands as a sign of his capacity - very much the way grades are given in the various subjects in examination in schools. The highest type of lawyer, for instance, will be given 10. The man who does not get a client will be given 1 - reserving zero for the man who is out and out idiot..... so let us make a class of people who have indices in their branch of activity, and to that class give the name of elite" (Pareto; 1935: 2027-37).

Thus the outstanding idea in the term elite is superiority and the elite are marked by qualities of

intelligence, character, skill and capacity of whatever kind. After defining the term elite, Pareto writes on who are elite in a society. He suggests that there are two strata in a population; (1) a lower stratum of the non elite; and (2) the higher stratum of the elite who are further divided into two - governing elite and non-governing elite (p. 1424, 2035). In his opinion elite are always present in each society. Though they are in circulation, the elite - rule is everlasting and continuous. He writes, "Aristocrats do not last - whatever be the causes - it is an incontestant fact that after a certain length of time - they pass- away. History is graveyard of aristocracies. They decay not only in numbers, but also in quality, in the sense that they lose their vigour, that there is a decline in the proportions of the residues which enabled them to win their power and hold it. The governing class is restored not only in numbers, but that is more important thing in quality, by families arising from the lower - classes and bringing with them the vigour and the proportions of residues necessary for keeping themselves in power. It is also restored by the loss of its more degenerate members, in virtue of class circulation . The governing elite is always in a state of slow and continuous transformation" (2053 to 2056, p. 1430-31). Following the same trend, Mosca explains that the elite consist of an

organised minority which rules over the unorganized majority (Mosca; 1939: 50-53). Mosca goes beyond Pareto when he gives importance to psychological, genetic and individual factors in the emergence of ruling class. He writes, "..... ruling minorities are usually so constituted that the individuals who make them up are distinguished from the mass of the government by qualities that give them a certain material, intellectual or even moral superiority" (p. 53). The other exponent of elite theory is C. Wright Mills - who holds the view that power elite is the main driving force of contemporary American society. For him, power- elite is singular - because it is composed of closely knit military, economic and political forces. By power- elite he means the persons whose position enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences. The elite who occupy the command posts may be seen as the possessors of power, wealth and celebrity. They may be seen as members of upper stratum of a capitalistic society. They may also be defined in terms of psychological and moral criteria, as certain kinds of selected individuals. So defined the elite, quite simply, are people of superior character and energy (Mills; 1956: 276).

H.D. Hasswell occupies a significant position among elite-theorists. Though he sees the elite in terms of power-

relation and influencing capacity, yet his conception of elite is important from our point of view. He writes that "elite are those with most power in a group; the mid elite those with less power; the mass with least power" (p. 201). His concept of 'mid-elite' makes him distinct among other elite- theorists. He is at par with other theorists regarding the size of elite- class (Lasswell; 1965: 200-207). He also puts some propositions related to elite and power relation. His propositions are -

1. Influence varies with power, the difference in influence of the elite and mass vary with the power of the elite.
2. Upper elite tend to be skilled in the practices of interpersonal relations, rather than of the area in which decisions are to be made.
3. A hierarchy is a structure of power relationship of varying amount of power; a co-archy is a structure of equal power- relationship.
4. Power groups develop into hierarchies.

Karl Mannheim, following the tradition of Pareto and Mosca, emphasises the role of elite in society. According to him all the major changes in a society are brought by elite only. He writes, "History is made neither by the masses nor by ideas, nor by silently working forces, but by the elites who from time to time assert themselves" (Mannheim; 1936: 119).

Karl Marx is considered to be a setter of a new tradition in the era of elite- theorists. Though, he does not use the word 'elite' in explaining his theory, his whole ideology moves around the concept of class and class- conflict. Class generally separates the people who own the means of production from the people who do not and its existence in any antagonistic society has always been obvious to its members.

We deduct from Marxian analysis that elite class, i.e., the class of 'The Haves' always intend to hold the ownership of the means of production, so to keep the power - positions in their own hands and generate surplus. On the other hand, the other class, the class of 'The Have-Nots', realizing their exploitative position unite and starts struggle against the 'Haves'. Marxian theory of this class and class-struggle is criticised from different corners. Dahrendarf call it the deterministic theory (Dahrendarf; 1959: 8-27), because it considers the ownership of property as the fundamental question for any given class. Marxian theory of class is also criticised on the ground that it fits reasonably well in modern capitalist society - but it does not fit as so well nor has it been used so successfully in explaining a number of other types of social - stratification.

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Marx - who argued for economic determinism - it was Weber who pleaded for overt consideration of class - status and power. He belongs to multi-dimensional tradition of stratification. A person's 'class-situation', in Weberian sense, is the location which he shares with those who are similarly placed in the processes of production, distribution and exchange - (Weber; 1947: 244-45). We must consider not only differences of income between workers in different occupations - but also such differences as opportunities for upward mobility, advances in the kind, provisions for retirement and security of employment. In addition, there falls under the heading of class-situation what David Lockwood has called "work-situation". It is defined as the set of social relationship in which the individual is involved by virtue of his position in the division of labour (Lockwood; 1958: 15). Class-situation - therefore is itself a complex phenomenon - which embraces aspects of a person's economic situation in society which need not be in strict co-relation with each other. They all, however, reflect inequalities, directly derived from the production system. So that to speak of a person's 'class' is to speak of his approximate - shared location in the economic hierarchy as opposed to the hierarchy of prestige or of power. Status is different from the class in the sense that status is generally determined by the style of consumption rather than

by the source or amount of income. Status, like class, can be exceedingly complex. In different societies a man's status may depend not merely on his style of life but on many other factors such as his race, age, or his religion. Inequality of status covers those differences in social attributes and styles of life which are accorded higher or lower prestige. Power for Weber is political power. Persons holding formal positions exercise power through that position (Weber; 1947). Thus it is clear from Weber's writings that 'elite-group' may emerge not only out of economic relationship but also out of social positions, like caste, occupations, etc. and also out of political power. Though many of these considerations may be overlapping. Besides it, leadership may be charasmatic, legal or traditional also. Another important contribution to the theory of stratification, class and elite is made by G. Lenski. Defining the term class Lenski writes, - "A class is an aggregation of persons in a society who stand in a similar position with respect to some form of power, privilege or prestige" (Lenski; 1966). All classes are not equal in terms of power. The distribution of privilege and prestige is largely determined by the distribution of power. Lenski is interested in finding 'who gets what and why'. He concentrates on power - class. He defines power- class as an aggregation of persons in a society who stand in a similar

position with respect to force or some specific form of institutional power (ibid). Moreover, power is multi-dimensional concept. Power can be position based, privilege based or based on any other such criteria. But the members of every power class share certain common interests with one another and these shared interests constitute a potential basis for hostility towards other classes. Further, Lenski comes down to the concept of elite - which he calls as 'elusive-term'. He defines elite as the highest ranking segment of any given social unit - whether a class or total society - ranked by whatever criteria one chooses. He describes the process of distribution of power in Latin American society- where he finds four important sources of power: (1) political activity; (2) wealth; (3) work or occupational activity; and (4) ethnicity (Lenski; 1966: 75-80).

Thus we find that classical, neo-classical and modern theorists have shown different trends in the field of elite - theories. These theorists, in aggregate, reach at least to one common point that class - relations (in whatever form) dominate the social structure. Whether classes are two or many, based on production relation or inherent in social norms, emerged out of market - situation, or are inherent in human nature, they ultimately influence the social change. And the superiors- dominating elite .. always try to divert the lever of social change in their own favour.

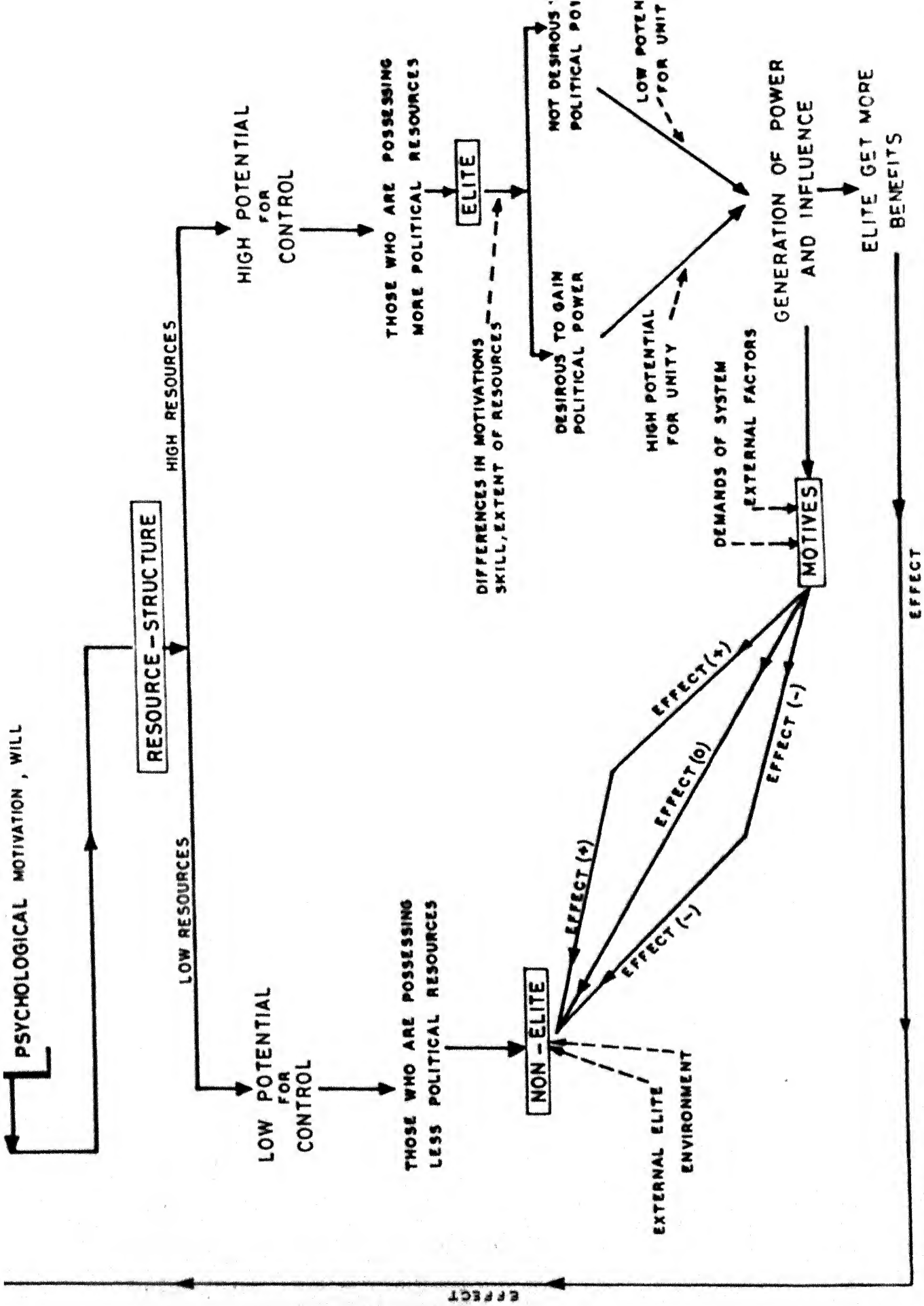
Theories need to be tested in real life situations. Theories of elite and poverty within the broader framework of existing social- inequalities remain at the abstract level, unless they are examined in the society, we live. The dominant class economically or otherwise enjoys better privileged position and status in the society and thus influences the development processes. This class is interested in seizing the benefits from all possible corners into their pockets and will never willingly let the poor come to their equal looting. The problem is more acute in the societies which are in the early phase of development. An attempt has been made here to study the role of this particular elite class in the development process in rural India - where local power structure do play important roles - in all the decision making and implementation processes.

1.5 A Conceptual Model

The theories discussed above and conducted researches in the field of stratification, elite and rural development have helped us in the construction of the 'Research Model'. Though the model is general and can be applied to other similar kind of works, here it has been developed keeping in view the requirements of the present research. In drawing the model, different approaches, concepts and logical derivations as used by Robert A. Dahl in his different works (Dahl; 1957, 1961,

1965, 1968) have been taken into considerations. The focus of Dahl's study is on 'power-relation' in political system. Though his derivation and analysis is based on his study of U.S. city - New Haven, his generalizations can well be applied or tested in developing countries. Dahl focuses on the generation of inequality in the uneven-distribution of political-resources in a society. -- Political- resource is a means by which one person can influence the behaviour of other persons. Political resources include money, information, food, social threat, jobs, friendship and a great variety of other things. This uneven distribution in the society creates two separate classes - Power holders or Power-seekers and commoners. Dahl also differentiates between potential for control and potential for unity. To gain actual political effectiveness - combination of both is must. Power, as a capacity to influence the behaviour of others, should be studied in terms of (a) its bases, source and domain, (b) its means and instruments, (c) its amount and extent and (d) its range and scope.

Model thus constructed shown in Figure 1.1, shows that there are three major factors which create differences in the distribution of resources. These factors are biological, social and psychological. Biologically, there are differences among human beings by nature, like men are stronger than women; some are born handicapped; some have greater physical power.



Social factors are both- inherited and achieved. Important among such social factors are - education, economy, political network, caste status, social relations, popularity, etc. The third important factor is psychological. It is found that some persons are more motivated to work towards community - welfare— or their own development - than others. They are also willing to take initiative for self improvement, i.e., they have internal locus of control rather than external.

These factors, in isolation as well as in combination, lead to uneven distribution of resources. Due to this uneven distribution of resources two kinds of people emerge in society - one with low potential for control and the other with high potential for control. Those who possess less political resources, like those who have low education and/or low economic status and/or low caste status and/or physically weaker and/or low achievement motivation, etc. have low potential for control, and the opposite are those who possess high potential for control. These two kinds of people have been called 'non-elite' and 'elite.' Elite are further of two kinds - one, those who are desirous to gain political power, and the other, those who are not desirous to gain political power. The desire to gain or not to gain political power is due to many reasons. Sometimes elite's motivation to achieve political power, their skill to use resources to gain power and

particularly political power, their capacity to spend the extent of resources in pursuit of power, their earlier training, experience, etc. are few among such factors which divide the elite into two-power elite and non-power elite . Power elite have high potential for unity and they gain power rapidly, and more in quantity. Other elite also gain power due to their privileged position in society, but they have low potential for unity and thus their process of gaining power is slower and they gain less power. Both kinds of elite effect the society at large in numerous ways. Motives of elite play an important role in the process of influencing the non-elite. These motives are generally determined by the demands of the system and due to external forces, etc. Anyway, the influence of elite over non-elite is multifarious. The different roles of the elite in influencing the non-elite have broadly been represented in three forms - effect (+), effect (0), and effect (-). That means, some of their actions produce positive effect on non-elite; some produce negative effects; and some of their actions and behaviour are neutral (non-effective) to non-elite. Their effects are determined by their motives. Non-elite are also effected by external elite like government officials, local M.L.A., etc. and external environment. However, the basic motive of elite class is to strengthen their own position and status. And thus, utilizing their privileged positions

they grab disproportionately more benefits, and take-away the share of the poor. These benefits further help in increasing their resource capacity as their biological, social and psychological factors further get positive feedback and the process thus continues.

The simplified and more specific form of the model has been shown in the Figure 1.2. This simplified model has been drawn in specific reference to the present thesis and, therefore, it helps to understand the phenomena in more concrete form.

The digramatic representation of the research problem has been shown here. The figure shows that the general rural structure, which includes economic, social, political and other aspects, is such that it gives rise to two opposite classes in society, i.e., the elite class and the non-elite class. Elite, for the convenience purpose, can be classified into three categories on the basis of their dominant status. These categories are of political elite, economic elite and educational elite. Different development strategies like health, loaning, education, infrastructural- development, etc. have been adopted and implemented by the government for the improvement of rural people in general, and the poor in particular. Different external forces, including regional, district and local, have their own importance in this development

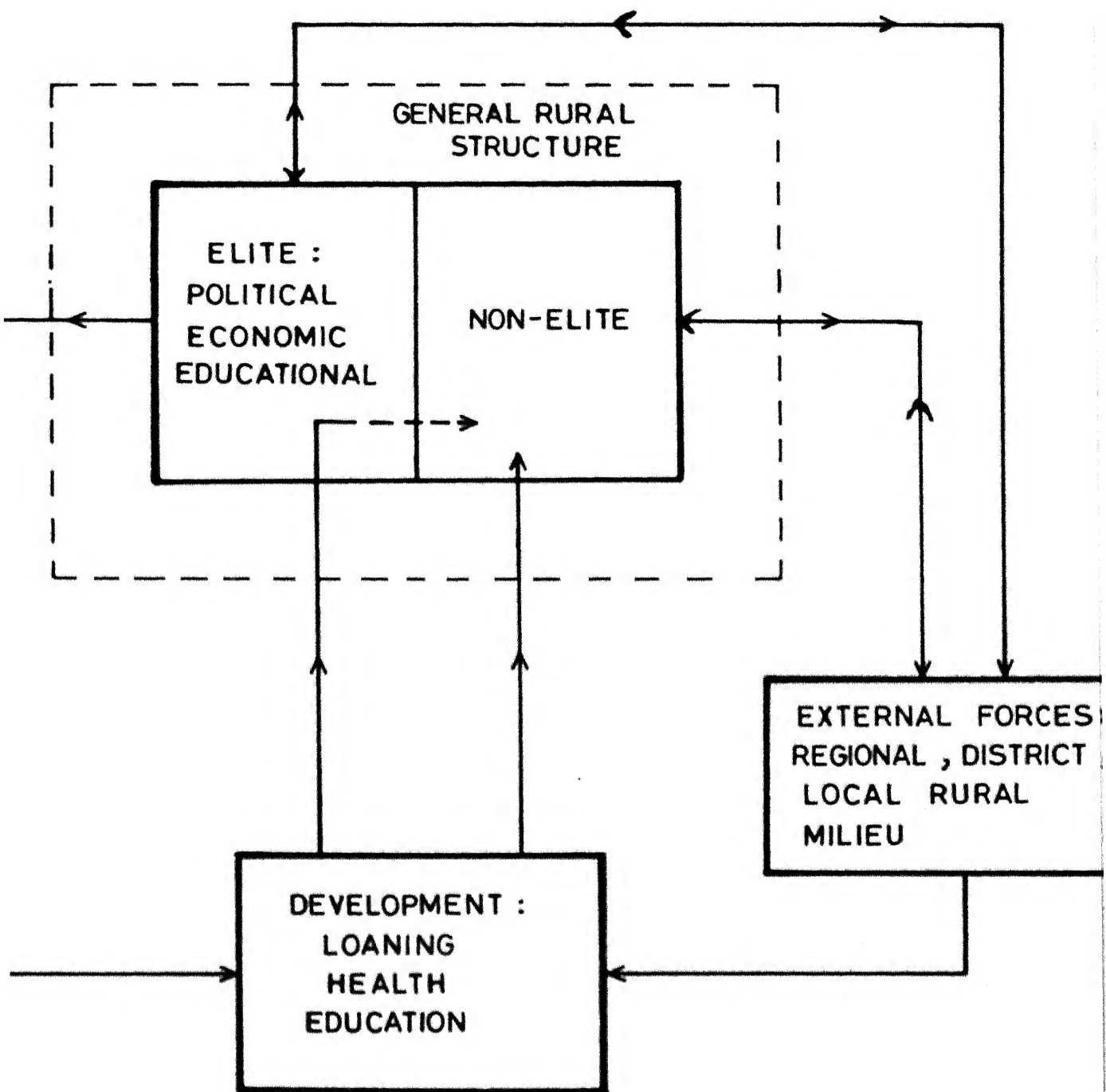


FIG.1.2 FRAMEWORK TO STUDY ROLE OF ELITE IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

process. Different forward and backward linkages shown in the diagram explain the development process at work in the situation described above. The implementation of development schemes is such that benefits reach the elite and the non-elite both, but disproportionately more to the elite and less to the non-elite. Lastly, most of the benefits to the non-elite could reach them only through mediation of the elite which shows the importance of their role in this process.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The present study has been conducted with the following objectives -

- (1) to study the socio-economic structure of the rural sample;
- (2) to study the development status and development pattern at village level;
- (3) description and analysis of three major development aspect - loans, education and health and family welfare;
- (4) identification of elite at village level;
- (5) to study and compare the socio-economic structures of elite and non-elite;
- (6) to study the pattern of relationship and interaction between elite and non-elite;
- (7) perception of local elite regarding rural- development; and finally,

(8) contribution of these elite in rural development.

The study also includes the comparison of development effects in a more-developed and in a less developed study village. The study looks at rural development from three point of views, i.e., from a commoners' point of view, from local elite's point of view, and from government - officials' point of view. This study starts with a critical assessment of the national planning model in India with particular reference to rural-development. The objects of these analysis are to throw light on planning procedures in India, - strategies and evaluation of Five Year Plans, description of community development plans, integrated rural development programme, etc.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING PROCESSES IN INDIA

2.1 Introduction

The present chapter describes the nature of developmental planning and planning processes in India. Planning in India can be examined at various hierarchical levels. Planning is done at central level in the form of five year plan, at the state level in the form of state-plans, at the district level in the form of district- sectoral plans and other annual plans and, at the block level in the form of specific target and achievement oriented plans. Planning can also be observed at village level where village - Pradhan along with other members of Gram Panchayat decides how and where the funds should be utilised and how a scheme should be implemented. The study of all these developmental planning processes becomes highly relevant for us; these are the processes which determine fate of the society, i.e., the future path of growth. Government developmental planning has two important aspects: formulation and implementation. The nature of plan, budget allocation, distribution of resources to different sectors, etc. make part of its formulation aspect. The nature of implementation of these plans which differs from place to place and situation to situation makes its implementation aspects. Local social - political and economic power structures

play important roles in the implementation process. Since a perfect harmony between the formulation of a plan and its implementation is necessary to make a plan real success, there is a need to examine the various issues connected with the aspects of planning in the country at different levels.

Therefore the present chapter focuses on the aims, strategies and practices of Indian planning at different levels. Our planning pattern seem to be highly technical and sophisticated: a plan is passed through several prolonged discussions and committees; the objectives and targets seem to be quite attractive; and evaluation figures are often glittering. But when an analysis is done at grass root level to find out the actual implementation and functioning of these developmental strategies, lot of harsh realities are visible, which are often neglected by the policy-makers and implementation agencies. One such harsh reality is the predominantly negative role of local elite and intermediary class in the development processes. This chapter is divided into two parts. While Part I deals with the larger issues of planning, Part II concentrates on the role of elite in planning - it attempts to answer in Indian society. Who are the elite today? How are they different from traditional elite? What roles do they play in the development process? And how do they influence the implementation process?

Part I

2.2 Concept of rural development

Development implies quantitative and qualitative change in the desired direction; change which is not so positively evaluated is not development — it is either mal-development or decay rather than development. Since we are concerned with rural development here, it is imperative to first clarify the term 'rural'. The term 'rural' essentially means an area which is characterized by 'non-urban' style of life occupational structure, social organization and settlement pattern. Rural is basically agricultural. Ecologically, rural settlement consists of villages or homesteads. Socially, it connotes greater inter-dependence among people, more deeply rooted community life and a slow moving rhythm of life built around nature and natural phenomena. And, occupationally, it is highly dependent on crop- farming, animal enterprises, free crops and related activities. Thus, rural development means desired changes in all the above mentioned rural components. However, such changes to be stable, should take place in a mutually supporting relationship. Finally, rural development also means structural changes in the socio-
economic situation in the rural areas in order that human welfare which is the primary goal of all developmental activities is secured at the earliest, and that the society

is able to absorb necessary changes in the field of technology, man-environment relationship, population growth, etc.

One important aspect of rural-development is economic development which is a process of economic modernization and which ensues from diversification and rural industrialization. It brings changes in the human resource capacity, i.e., in the level of nutrition, house, health, education, general culture, etc. Economic development involves an optimal utilization of natural and human resources in the country for the maximization of social welfare on a continuing basis for whole of its population. The problems of economic-policy, in relation to the need for development, concern government administrators as much as they influence political alignments and the activities of the politicians. It is well understood that economic development depends on much more than economic factors alone. It depends on cultural values, social structures and political climate as well. The relations between developmental factors, on one hand, and socio-political processes, on the other, are extraordinarily complex and it is doubtful if their full character has yet been matured. Moreover, in a planning society of the Third World development rests largely on government initiatives, control and management, and the administrative machinery is called to new tasks. Sometimes whole new organisations are required, and the existing instruments are put to new uses.

2.3 Planning and planning pattern

Planning refers to utilization of the modern technical and social knowledge for improvement of life of the individuals and society. It is a delicate and comprehensive art. It implies coordination of the various developmental activities. In fact proper co-ordination is the core of planning. In order to succeed, a system of planning must not only concentrate on the elimination of the major drawbacks and limitations of the people, but it should also avoid schemes and projects that shoot over their heads. The state planning activities in rural development should enlist co-operation and evoke enthusiasm of the rural population so that quick results may be forthcoming. Economic planning means nothing less than an all round development of the standards of living and welfare of population. This may be quantitatively measured by the improvements of nutritional status, clothing and housing standards, and of leisure, literacy and average expectations of life (Mukerjee; 1946). Planning is necessary for removing stagnation, for rapid development, enhancement of exports, and also for enhancement of the feeling of nationhood. According to Myrdal, the planning ideology, throughout South Asia, is committed to the improvements of mass welfare, greater economic and social equality, including downward levelling and prevention of the concentration of power. These

2.4 Planning: A framework to understand the problems of planning in Indian context

Planning pattern and implementing decisions in India with her evolving political system and greater dependence on personal leadership, present a number of serious problems. Among these are the increasing tendencies towards centralization, on the one hand, and towards decentralization, on the other, in a rather peculiar federal system, and the problem of leadership at all levels. In all democratic countries the increasing concentration of power, authority and functions is a matter of deep concern. This is true even in federal states, where presumably the constituent units of the federation have special authority as well. In India the concentration of authority seems to be particularly obvious. There is even today a strong and pervasive tendency to look to the central government, whenever difficulties arise in the private sector or in the states or in local units of government. The dominant position of the Congress party at the Centre has reinforced this tendency. Moreover, there is widespread acceptance of the view that without strong direction from centre, India cannot hope to deal effectively with its vast problems, carry out its comprehensive experiment in national planning and establish a "socialist pattern of society".

India got independence in 1947 and her institutions started functioning independently thereafter. It was during

the post World-War II period when most of the third world countries were getting rid of the colonial clutches. Thus many of the problems of these countries were similar when they got independence. Most of these countries had the similar problems of poverty, economic and social inequality, broken economy, unemployment, population pressure, low productivity, poor industrial development. The strongest among all these was the wide spread economic and social inequality and that is why while fighting for the end of colonial rule, these countries expanded the ideology of political democracy. The ideal of political democracy is closely related to greater economic and social equality. The idea of political democracy is expressed by Gandhi in the form of swaraj, as he stated, "By Swaraj, I mean the Government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population, male or female, native born or domiciled, who have contributed by manual labour to the services of the state and who have taken the trouble of having their names registered as voters" (Gandhi; 1925: 40). But the fact remained that winning the independence did not touch-off the anticipated social and economic equality. Power and property were of course taken from the then Maharajas and a top stratum Land-lords. But measures were of little consequence as power remained in the hands of privileged groups (Malviya; 1956: 753).

Thus; the planners had to face two-fold major problems at the onset of planning era in India:

- (1) Poor economic situation , and
- (2) Great structural social inequalities.

For a systematic fruitful development, our planners and pioneers agreed to the point of establishing a planning-commission which was established formally in 1950 and produced the First Five Year Plan in 1951. The essential goals of Indian planning have remained unchanged. These goals can be briefly described as follows: modernization and building of a growing and self reliant economy; reduction in poverty and unemployment and improvement in the quality of life; removal of regional disparities and strengthening the redistributive aspects of public policies and services in favour of the poor and weaker sections of the community; and restraint on growth of concentration of economic power.

2.5 Planning procedure

The formulation of the national five year plans falls into three clearly demarcated stages:

- (1) The approach to the plan;
- (2) Draft plan in outline; and
- (3) The draft-plan.

In preparation of the approach to a new five- year plan, all sectors of the on-going plan are reviewed and the policy

issues flowing from such a review together with an identification of social, economic and institutional performance and strengths and weaknesses, are identified. This forms the basis for the planning work involved in the next plan. Issues are framed and presented to National Development Council so that the council may guide the planners in taking up the detailed work of plan preparation. The National Development Council (NDC) is a body consisting of the Prime-Minister and all the members of the Union Cabinet and also the chief ministers of all states and union territories. A wide cross-section of institutional and organisational opinion, individual and public opinion, and view-points of legislators are trapped at this stage. After the NDC approves the approach, the draft plan is prepared in an outline and again submitted to the NDC for approval. Finally, the draft five year plan is prepared for presentation to the NDC and on being approved is presented to parliament and to the nation at large as the national plan. The states are involved closely at all stages in the preparation of the plan, right upto the final plan document — through intensive consultation in working groups, set up for this purpose, and also at the stage of finalization of individual state's five year plans before these are incorporated in the national plan. The entire planning process takes anywhere from eighteen months to two and half years to complete.

In preparation of the Five Year plan both at the Centre and in the States, the aim is to assess the maximum possible resources that can be raised for the implementation of the plan and to arrange the plan schemes and projects on the basis of priority to match these resources. Thus in the central plan, the recommendations of the different working groups relating to the different areas of responsibility of the government of India, are made on the basis of a consensual process of consultation with the various departments of the centre which are then accommodated in the final plan with reference to the priorities and the available resources. The exercise in regard to the state plans is similar except that in calculating the resources available to the states, the element of central assistance is also taken into account. This itself is calculated on the basis of what is likely to be available with the centre out of its resources after providing for the central plan.

At the centre, the annual plan of each department is again prepared on the basis of a consensual discussion between the planning commission and the department, taking into account the overall resources available and the priorities to be followed in making plan provision. The procedure with regard to the annual plan of each state is roughly similar. Here the total central assistance to the states for the plan period

is fixed. However revisions can be made, depending on the availability of resources and needs of the state. The size of the annual plan depends almost wholly on the ability of the state to raise the required resources. The commission's role is to discuss with the states its resource position, and arrive at an agreed conclusion as to the total amount. The states are also capable of raising the central assistance, available on the basis of the plan figures, and after determining the plan size, the commission arrives at agreed conclusions with the states on the distribution of the plan resources among the different sectors.

2.6 Changing priorities in Indian planning

The proclaimed objective before the Indian government was the establishment of socialistic pattern of society (Congress party annual session at Avadi in January, 1955). But before marching towards this objective, it was necessary to achieve at least a minimum level of economic growth, so that there should be something to distribute among the members of the society and this was the main reason, and that is why the First-Five Year Plan (1951 - 1956) was launched with following strategic aims:

- (1) to restore the economy which had run down;
- (2) to operate substantial development programme, which could lay the foundation for future progress;

- (3) to initiate measures for social justice; and
- (4) to build up appropriate viable administration and other organization for development process.

Thus, at the time of beginning of planning with empty boxes - 'economic growth' and 'establishing the foundations for future economy' were considered the best strategy.

The plan proved to be a successful step; which made the planners more ambitious. Thus the planners while formulating the second plan (1956-61) concentrated too much on what could be done and too little on how it could be done.

Again emphasis was laid upon economic growth with inclusion of industrial development. The strategic aims put for second plan (1956-61) were:

- (1) to gain an annual increase of 5% in the national income;
- (2) provision of additional employment to about 10 million persons;
- (3) rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the production of iron and steel and development of basic and key industries;
- (4) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and even distribution of economic power, thus helping the creation of a socialistic - pattern of society.

The plan experienced failures and collapses since its very starting. The plan was started in the light of over-optimism, but resources were limited. Moreover, natural

calamities such as Unfavourable weather conditions, unanticipated price rises, etc. intervened to make the things worse. These made it necessary in the middle of the plan period to review the situation, scale down the total public sector investment and revise the plan priorities to suit the deteriorating financial resources and balance of payment positions. On the whole the experience was sobering, once again economic growth was given priority over structural issues.

Now when the second-plan term expired, the planning commission threw the third- Five Year plan (1961-66). It was again a growth oriented plan: distributional and inequality aspects were given less consideration in comparison to economic growth and development aspects. The third plan aimed at:

- (1) To secure 5% to 6% annual increase in national income in such a way as to sustain that rate of growth during the subsequent plan periods;
- (2) To increase agricultural production and achieve self sufficiency in food grain, in order to meet the needs of industry, export and growing population;
- (3) To expand basic and key industries like steel, fuel, power and chemical industries;
- (4) To utilize to the fullest extent the manpower resources of the country;

- (5) To establish progressively greater quality of opportunity and to bring about reduction in disparities in income and produce a more even distribution of economic power.

The third plan, due to exogenous and indogenous factors, collapsed and proved even more frustrating than the second one. The plan was incapable of fulfilling agricultural development because of the lack of a proper organizational approach. Nowhere in the third plan the planning commission had spelled out the appropriate programme or the correct policy for export promotion. The third planning commission did not attempt seriously to chalk out a systematic and well co-ordinated employment policy even for writing out the backlog of unemployment from the economy once and for all. Besides, some exogenous factors like 1962 border conflict with China, 1965 conflict with Pakistan, stoppage of foreign aid, worst droughts in the last two years of the plan affected the plan badly and thus the plan ended with frustrating experience.

It was time now to evaluate the whole situation and to discover the causes of failure — to answer why the development rate was low. As is clear from the three successive plans between 1951-66, during this period great emphasis was laid on growth aspect without keeping in view the social-structures. With a result, it was found that growth was confined to a

few- privileged class. Structural inequalities have led to greater disparity in economic distribution which made the already rich richer and the poor poorer. Zamindari was abolished. But still big landlords existed in the rural areas and with rapid industrialization, they established factories/industries in urban centres and were transformed into capitalist class. Private ownership increased which worsened the condition of the poor class. Though the emphasis was laid on greater agricultural output during the three plans, the strategies helped only the already better off agriculturalists of the villages. Number of landless labourers increased and thus in the process of increasing the economic output social-inequality also increased, which hampered the economic development in turn. Hence, the planners were now left with no alternative other than to reevaluate the whole situation in the light of the poor class.

The three years period between 1966-1969 was considered as plan-holiday-period. In place of five year plans, annual plans were operated to put immediate objectives for immediate achievements. During this period efforts were made to concentrate more on immediate problems of restoring health of the economy. The annual plans were made in order to stabilize investment at the level reached in the last-year of the plan, to continue or complete the work on projects already in progress and to further consolidate the economy. During this period

'Green- Revolution' was initiated, dramatic - political changes were caused, and fourteen major banks were nationalized.

And now, it was only with Fourth- plan onwards that the strategy switched over to 'Growth with Justice'. Reduction of inequality and even distribution of economic fruits were given the same importance as the economic growth aspect. Here, we can say that India initiated to march towards the process of attaining socialistic pattern of society. Major objective was removal of poverty with self-sufficiency in food grains. The strategic aims of the fourth plan (1969-74) were -

- (1) To step up the tempo of activity to the extent compatible with maintaining stability and progress towards self-reliance;
- (2) To pay special attention to certain fields — productive activity particularly in agriculture and primary production;
- (3) To help the very large number of smaller and weaker producers;
- (4) To even out supplies of food grains and to stabilise prices;
- (5) To use monopoly legislation and appropriate fiscal policy for reducing concentration of economic power; and
- (6) To utilize panchayat raj institution in local planning.

First time the importance of micro-level institutions was taken into account in the development process. It was realized that rural development is possible through local institutions.

The draft of Fifth Five year plan (1974-79) was, however, introduced to maintain continuity and was implemented through annual plans since Sept. 1976, when the National Development Council approved the final draft of the plan. The plan was given in the light of reducing inequality. The strategy adopted for this plan was justice with growth. The plan had proposed a simultaneous attack on underdevelopment and inequality by evolving a somewhat more disaggregated approach. Here it should be kept in mind that the Janta government came into power in May 1977 and the Janata government reconstituted the planning commission with more emphasis on eradicating rural poverty. Elimination of rural poverty gained the highest priority during the whole Fifth-Five Year Plan as the Janta government leaders were highly inspired by 'Gandhian model', and always considered welfare of poor and social equality as superior objective to national economic growth. It was during this period that IRDP, NREP and other such welfare programmes started. Greater attention was given to local institutions like panchayat, gram sabha, and such institutions.

The leaders had realised by this time that Indian-society is highly stratified society. The dominance of elite ~~was~~ still prevalent in the society - particularly more in the rural areas - inspite of different legal steps and constitutional frame work. Hence the need was to uplift the worst. The target was set to bring incresing number of people above the poverty line on continuous basis. The basic change was that distributional aspect was given more importance than growth aspect- even in the formulation of sixth Five Year plan (1980-85). Due to the long debates over substantive issues - the Sixth Five Plan was delayed for full-one year and it could be operationalized only in 1980. The plan aimed at the growth rate of 2% per annum. The basic objectives as envisaged in the plan were removal of poverty, growth, modernization, self reliance and social justice. The need for diversification of the economic structure had also been stressed. For the first time in the planning history, specific social welfare indicators had been chosen for explaining the process and strategy of development. It was considered that the social welfare indicators like the number of people below poverty line, per capita consumption basket and life - expectancy go much deeper into the problems of poverty, unemployment and under employment than the traditional economic indicators like growth of national income, per capita income

consumption, saving and investments.

Today when the term of Sixth Five Year Plan is over, the planning commission is discussing over adopting the Seventh Five Year Plan. The commission has reached a consensus over objective issues. They again agree to the point that still there is a need for improvement of poor, and backward classes. Hence the strategy should once again be justice with growth with the emphasis on food-work and productivity.

The foregoing discussion over the aims and priorities of Five Year Plans helps us to understand the nature of Indian planning and development. Through this we reach the conclusion that Indian planning from its beginning to this date is processing around two basic issues: economic growth, and social justice. The first three plans concentrated on economic growth - while the next three plans concentrated on social justice with economic growth - the last two plans gave highest priority to attain the social justice.

2.7 Evaluation of five-year plans

For a fair idea of development efforts that the economy had experienced in the course of this period of planning, we may refer first to the trend in the aggregate magnitudes of investment as estimated by official sources. Investment is the most commonly accepted element in the process of development. Following table give us the investment trend during different plan period:

Table 2.1

Estimates of Investment for Different Plan-periods (in million rupees)

Plan	Period	Public sector investment	Private sector investment	Total investment
First	1951-56	14,600	19,000	33,600
Second	1956-61	34,500	33,000	67,500
Third	1961-66	63,000	41,000	1,04,000
Annual Plans	1966-69	56,060	37,300	93,360
Fourth	1969-74	1,59,020	89,800	2,48,820
Fifth	1974-79	4,23,030	2,70,000	6,93,030
Sixth	1979-85	9,75,000	7,47,100	17,22,100
Seventh	1985-90	18,00,000	16,85,480	34,85,480

Source: Plan drafts (1951-1985), Planning Commission, Delhi.

The progressive increase in aggregate investment from plan to plan has been tremendous. This is to keep in mind that these amounts are all expressed in current prices and they are affected by rise in price of investment good. Even if we allow for the rise in the prices on this basis, we still find a considerable increase in the amount of investment in real terms. For example, as the above table shows, the

amount of investment between the second and the third plan increased by 48%, while there was an increase of 30% in the general level of prices. Similarly, a comparison of the Fourth and Fifth plan estimates show a record increase of 148% in the investment, which corresponded with an increase of about 65% in the general level of prices.

The performances of these plans are of varied nature. To start with the agricultural- sector performance during first ten years, it is found that the percentage increase in agricultural production was about 17% during first plan and about 16% during the second plan. The annual rate of increase during the first decade of the Indian planning experiment may, therefore, be taken at more than 33%.

The third plan aimed at stepping up the rate of expansion of agricultural output from 3% to 6% p.a., but with an agricultural growth rate of not more than 2.5% p.a. over the first 15 years of planning and a precipitous decline in foodgrains output in 1965-66, the agricultural front became extremely depressing at the end of third plan. This was not only due to inclement weather and irregular rainfall but also due to defective agricultural organization and planning. The third plan (1961-66) had left with wide-gaps between the targets and achievements in several sectors of development, particularly agriculture, irrigation, power,

organized industry and planning. Over the third plan period, national- income increased by 17% as against the target of 25%. The target shortfall was in the agricultural sector also. Food output in 1965-66 was only 73 million tonnes against the plan target of 100 million tonnes. Fertilizers and irrigation were two other fields where shortfall during the third plan period was quite prominent. In the field of organized industry the performance was somewhat better. Except for 1965-66, which was characterised by an acute shortage of raw materials owing to import restrictions, the industrial output increased steadily at the rate of 7% to 8% p.a. inspite of the pulls and pressures created by the ordinary and extra-ordinary factors during the third plan period. The plan was successful in fulfilling some of the important targets in the field of industry, transport and communication, health and education.

There were three annual plans in between the third Five Year Plan and the fourth Five Year Plan. Fourth Plan was launched in 1969 which covers the period 1969-70 to 1973-74. The fourth plan had no concrete proposals for achieving relative price stability. The wholesale price index registered an unprecedented average rise of 22.7% in 1973-74 as against the increase of 3.7% in 1969-70, 5.5% in 1970-71, 4% in 1971-72 and 9.5% in 1972-73. It should also be mentioned here that during the five year period of fourth plan, deficit

planning amounted to Rs.1,203 crores. Between Aug. 1971 to Aug. 1973 money supply in India increased by 32.5% which was an all time record. All these produced an unprecedented price- rise and the Indian economy was out of fear. Therefore, the realization of objective of growth with stability was a far cry.

During the first 20 years of planning, India's national income grew at an annual rate of 3.6%, while agricultural output and industrial output rose at an annual rate of 3.2% and 6.4% respectively. In per capita terms national income growth was 1.5% p.a., while foodgrains output grew at an annual rate of 1.3% p.a. Foodgrains output per-hactare rose at an annual rate of 2%. The saving income ratio nearly doubled from 5.7% to 10.1%; in fact, the peak level reached in 1963-64 when it was 12%. The investment ratio also doubled from 5.6% to 11.1% and the peak level of 14.9% was reached in 1963-64 (Ghosh; 1981: 101-112).

During the Fifth-Five Year Plan (1974-79), as revealed by the economic survey (1977-78), the annual rate of growth in the four years ending 1977-78 worked out to 3.9% and thus it did not fulfil the revised target of 4.4%. The economy shared a growth rate of 0.5% in 1974-75; it showed a sudden increase to 3.5% during 1974-75 which was largely due to bumper harvest. The growing rate slumped to 1.6% in 1976-77

and this again improved to 5% in 1977-78. The Janata government decided to terminate the Five Year Plan after completion of four years.

Revised fifth plan targets were achieved only in food grains and cotton clothes, more especially in decentralised sectors. As against it, the performance in cotton, paper and paper boards, clothe, cement, etc. was much below even the revised targets. In other important commodities, viz., sugarcane, coal, petroleum, fertilizers, steel and electricity the achievement was lower, though the shortfall was not very large.

An over all review of the fifth plan indicates 3.9% average increase of national income. There has also been a rise of the general price level by 33.5% during the 4 years period and the consumer price index has also shot up by 33.2% during the same period. The real income of the poor has not shown an increase. Neither has unemployment declined. Thus, in terms of the welfare of weaker sections, the fifth plan cannot boast of significant results (Dutt and Sundharam; 1982: 185-241).

The sixth plan growth rate averaged 4.7 to 5% which is near the target postulated in the plan. Growth rate, however, have been fluctuating from year to year during 1980-85. The agricultural sector has undoubtedly registered spectacular

progress on the food front in particular. The food grain production in 1983-84 had trepled to 152.4 million ton (mt) and was targeted to grow to 153.6 mt, but the later estimates put it down to 146.2 mt. Despite the setback, the food grain target is heightened to 178-183 mt. The mid term appraisal of the Sixth plan claimed that during the first two years of the plan (1980-81 and 1982-83), 57 million persons below the poverty line have crossed it as a result of the impact of poverty alleviation programmes like IRDP, NREP. There are major shortfalls in the programme of poverty eradication and expansion of employment. The rise of price could not be halted. It is cold comfort to say that the rate of inflation was contained to a single digit level. There are shortfalls in the production of pulses, output of coal, electric energy and steel (Datt and Sundharam: 1985: 231-35).

When a general evaluation of these Five Years Plans is taken into account we find that Indian economy has made strides. India has become 10th in the industrial world. Great thermal power and other kinds of projects have been and are being set up, India has also developed to the level of becoming third in the field of science and technology. Millions of people have been benefited through IRDP, NREP, TRYSEM, etc. At the same time different studies also make

it very clear that development fruits are not reaching the target due to social structures (Seth; 1983: 21 , Abdul and Murty; 1983: 13, Paul and Subramaniam; 1983: 399, Mandal and Mahadevan; 1982: 158). Social structure is such that benefits go to the persons sitting on the higher sticks of the ladder. There is a wide gap between policy formulation and proper policy implementation. There is an intermediary group which is privileged due to its economic position, power position or other such criteria and this group grab the benefits in between. Statistical reports also show that there is absence of secular decline in the percentage of people below the poverty line in post independence period. The studies of Ahluwalia and Dutta show that there is only a marginal difference between the percentage of people living below poverty line for a period of about 20 year (1956-77) (Ahluwalia; 1978, Dutta; 1980).

Hence it can be said that the society needs more equitable structural arrangements and planning commission must implement any development programme in the light of existing social structure of that region.

2.8 Community development programme (CD)

In the attempt to build up an institutional infrastructure that will involve the masses in the task of development, India has been ahead both in planning and initiation of programmes.

Since the beginning, India stressed what it calls the national extension service and community development - which is a co-ordinated attempt to raise productivity, levels of living, health, educational facilities and to improve attitude towards work and life in the villages. Explaining this new pattern of planning, V.T. Krishnamachari, former Vice-Chairman of planning commission wrote, ".... the sustained efforts for improving all aspects of rural life and reaching every family in the country side are a new factor. The CD movement is the largest single contribution - the planning commission has made to the country" (Krishnamachari; 1961: 264). Given its all embracing character, the CD programme has absorbed the other main goals of democratic planning like cooperation, local self government. The fundamental idea underlying the democratic planning was that it should be building from below and that it should come into existence through the voluntary participation and cooperation of the people.

Community-Development (CD) as a new concept gained currency after IIInd World War in many Western as well as in developing countries. While CD programme in West, tried to serve and organize actions of the power section of the society, in the Third World they aimed at macro welfare through utilization of human and social resources to substitute them or scarce capital. Mahajan writes, "the basic idea behind

the community development programmes was to bring about a new way of thinking among the rural people, and change their existing social values as well as the prevailing format of rural institutions" (Mahajan; 1983: 73). The programme assumed urgency because of the necessity to take people into confidence, make the government more broad based and ensure enlightened public participation in the affairs of the nation. The CD may be defined as a process in which people unite and pool their resources in an effort to improve economic, social and cultural conditions of the community. One important factor in CD was peoples' participation, another was the provision of technical and other agencies in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help. In this CD approach to economic development there is greater emphasis on development of human relations. And, unlike pure economic development that aims at improvement of income through industrialization, it aims at all round development of local human and non-human resources.

Community development programme was first introduced in India on 2 Oct., 1952. 55 community projects were launched on this day on an experimental basis. It was progressively extended to other parts of the country covering 99% of the rural population by 1963. The programme was started in 500 blocks initially - but later on expanded to all development blocks by the end of 1968.

Planning commission appointed in December, 1956, a study team with B. Mehta as Chairman to study the community projects and national extension service with a view to securing economy and sufficiency in it's operation. Some important recommendations of the working group were as follows:

- (1) The main recommendation was, in regard to the putting up of a new body to be named the Panchayat Samiti , which would be responsible for development activities in the district. This institution would constitute a key institution in the panchayat raj or democratic decentralization plan.
- (2) The scheme proposed by the team included that the 'gram sevak' or the VLW would become the development-secretary of village - panchayat or panchayati samiti within his circle.
- (3) Emphasis should shift without delay to the more demanding aspects of economic development.
- (4) Team was of the opinion that the present system of dividing the programme into three phases- National Extension Service, Intensive Development and Post-Intensive Development- leads to two fold waste and non-availability of resources. This distinction should be replaced by a continuing programme of Six Years.

The CD programme contained both educational and organizational processes. The chief objective of the programme was to create an urge among the rural people for better life and to show the way of satisfying this urge predominantly by means of self-help. The programme tried to evolve intensive and comprehensive schemes, covering all aspects of rural life, e.g., agriculture, rural- industries, education, housing, health, recreation, etc. and aimed at utilizing under a democratic set-up the surplus labour force in rural areas for development purposes.

For about a decade community development continued to be the reigning philosophy in respect of rural reconstruction. It was projected as the only hope for rural India. The underlying ideology was to help the people to help themselves. Evaluation studies of the CD programme, however, showed many weaknesses in the programme. It emphasised cultural goals rather than the output goals in the process. There was a great deal of high minded theorization and relatively little purposive action. Generalizing the experience for developing societies, Dasgupta says, "Community Development Programme in the Third World did not succeed in eradicating poverty. What it achieved instead was a general stagnant societies, a rise in the aspirations of people and the actual achievement of a higher standard of living for a small group

within these countries. The rising aspirations of the many and the development of a few generated a situation of greater frustration and violence. Whereas, community development was supposed to be equity- oriented and non-exploitative, the actual practice had led to a negation of its principles" (Dasgupta; 1985: 64). The programme failed to make significant contribution to agriculture. Regarding the community development (and also national extension service programme) it was felt that it had grown too large and too amorphous. As an overreaction to the absence of promised results the community development and national extension service programmes came into sharp criticism. Most of the major benefits of the programme had gone to the affluent and well-to-do. The poor sections were the recipients - only of nominal benefits - whose worth in many cases was not clear to them.

In the beginning, an assumption was made by the policy-makers that while the modern industrialization solves the problems of economic underdevelopment at the macro level, simultaneously designed CD projects (which subsequently led to development of the panchayat raj) will solve the rural agricultural and entrastructural problems. This was a wrong assumption. In the basic framework of modernization the CD programme, originally conceived as a people's programme,

failed to modernize the rural, backward economy to the desired extent. This was wrong to assume that it is possible to improve the quality of life of the masses even if the decisions are taken from the above and the local power structure remains untouched.

2.9 Integrated rural development

Eradication of poverty has been accepted as a goal by all the political groups in the country. This has further aroused expectations. But the non-performance of these groups - while in government has added to the disenchantment of the poor resulting in the expression of anger and protest. In the rural areas this was the section which benefited the least from community development and national extension service programme, as well as the intensive agricultural phase. The growing economic disparities caused by the 'Green Revolution', it has been suggested, led to new tensions. Therefore, in designing the strategy of rural development something positive had to be done to ameliorate the condition of those below the poverty line, raising their standard of living and improving their quality of life. This was the demand of social justice as well as political need.

To accelerate the process of change and development new strategies and schemes were chalked out. For a positive systematic change some terminological and functional alternatives

were adopted. The old name community development had been discarded and was replaced by rural development. The new strategy that was projected was of 'Integrated Rural Development Programme' (Dube; 1982). The IRDP was launched in 1978-79 in all 300 blocks of the country with the objectives of raising the poor families in rural areas above the poverty line by giving them income generating assets to credit and other inputs. Every year 300 blocks were to be brought under the purview of the programme. Prior to this, programmes like SFDA, DPAP and the MFDA were in operation in some specific areas. Later on all the 5000 blocks were brought under IRDP on Oct. 2, 1980 merging SFDA and some other programmes into it. The plan target is to assist 600 families in each block per year to cross the poverty line, the total target being 1.5 crore families. Out of 600 families, 400 families would be benefited through agriculture and relative activities, another 100 families through village and cottage industries and another 100 families would be assisted in the service sector in a year (Programme, 20 Point; 1982: 132). The allocation for the programme in this year's (1986) central budget has been stepped up by 51% to Rs.633 crores. The commercial banks and state governments will be expected to contribute as much if not more. The average subsidy provided per- capita would thus be stepped up from 1000/- in the sixth

plan to Rs. 1337 crores in the seventh plan and the average package for investment increased from 3339 crores to 4000 crores in 1984-85. A new 'house-hold' approach would be fallout (Times of India, dated 29 March, 1986).

2.9.1 The main characteristics of IRDP

- (1) It is primarily an economic programme supported by social development programme such as health, nutrition and education;
- (2) It concentrates on families below the poverty line. The poorest families are identified. 600 such families are identified from each block;
- (3) It is not concerned with families - which are not potentially viable, as they can be helped through welfare schemes;
- (4) Only economically viable and technically feasible activities based on project reports are promoted in respect of a beneficiary with his/her consultation;
- (5) Subsidiary of 25% to 50% is provided by the government;
- (6) Beneficiaries who require skill development are trained. All expenses on training are met by the government;
- (7) Progress of benefited families is monitored to ensure that they cross the poverty line within a definite time schedule;

- (8) It is based on identification and fuller utilization of local growth potential through a process of block level planning;
- (9) It envisages development of planning capabilities at block level planning;
- (10) It is the programme for development of target group beneficiaries in a specified area and thus harmonises both the area and beneficiary approaches.

2.9.2 Operational strategy

The operational strategy of the IRDP has the following main elements -

- (1) Preparing a resource inventory of block.
- (2) Review of the on-going programmes.
- (3) Concluding a base line survey with the help of a household schedule.
- (4) Estimation of number of families below poverty line and their annual income both from farm and non-farm sources.
- (5) Selection of beneficiaries based on income criteria and priority for SC and ST.
- (6) Assessment of preferred choice of beneficiaries for allocation.
- (7) Selection of projects keeping in view the local resources and choice of beneficiaries.

- (8) Preparation of bankable family projects with reference to economic activities.
- (9) Providing infra-structures which are immediately necessary for programme implementation.
- (10) Ensuring input supply, credit flow, extension and transfer of technology and marketing.
- (11) Ensuring project based implementation and monitoring of family economic activities (Sodhi: 1983: 1015).

Chandulal Chandrakar, Minister for rural development in a Delhi-Doordarshan telecast under JANVANI programme on 20.8.1985 threw light on the IRD programme and on its various aspects. According to the Minister one crore and sixty five lacks individuals have been benefitted in six-lacs villages during Sixth Five Year Plan - which is a record. On an average 45% to 49% of beneficiaries have come above the poverty line through various benefits under IRD programme. Upto 1980, percentage of people below the poverty line fluctuated between 50% to 54% and between 1980 to 1985 the poverty ratio declined from 51% to 40%. These figures definitely seem to be attractive.

The minister also explained about the government's prospective strategies under seventh plan. The minister informed that the problem of 'wrong identification of beneficiary' is given priority consideration in seventh plan.

One 'Beneficiary-Advisory Committee' would be made to identify the beneficiary. Decision of Gram Sabha would be final. District committees consisting of local M.L.A., M.P., social worker, etc. have already been formed to point out and eliminate the corruption in implementation of the IRDP. Poverty line is now fixed at Rs. 550/- p.m., instead of earlier Rs. 300/- p.m. The earlier target of 600 families to be benefitted in a block has been scrubbed as poverty is not equally distributed. Now there will be a 'selectivity criterion' under which people will be selected from the poorer section. The minister also informed that non-governmental agencies like universities, institutions research centres, etc., will conduct evaluatory survey at least in 36 districts per month to give proper feedback to the government and get acquainted with latest development.

However reports of programme evaluation organization (PEO) of the planning commission, NABARD and a number of other institutions have revealed that how political influences, corruption and collusion between bankers, officials and sometimes the beneficiaries themselves have lighted it's purposes and led to the waste or 'misappropriation of the vast funds. But is now clear that the extent of leakages has been grossly understood so far. The PEO's surveys, for instance conclude that IRDP has helped about 49% of the

16.5 million beneficiaries during the sixth plan to cross to an annual income level of more than 3500/-. The data gathered by the newly created department of rural development at the centre, however, shows that countrywide, no more than 5% of them have done so. In Gujrat, Haryana, J. & K. and Orissa, the number is nil (Times of India; 1986: 29 March).

PART II

2.10 Elite class in developing society

Elite is a changing phenomenon. Time, place, social, economic, political and other conditions determine the nature and pattern of elite in society. Elite, i.e., the dominant or superior persons can be found at each level. They can be identified at national as well as at state, district and village levels. Who are elite today? As a matter of fact, it depends on who were elite yesterday and what circumstances led towards their down fall and others rising to elite positions. Therefore, in order to study elite in contemporary society one has to have some idea of traditional elite. Sighting the case of Indian society, Sharma analysed the nature of traditional elite, their composition, recruitment, etc. He observed that caste was the major basis of elite formation in traditional Indian societies. Each caste had some fixed occupation to occupy in the society. Hence

occupational elite were very much determined by the caste hierarchy. For example, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas formed cultural, administrative, power, business and economic elite respectively. Further, Sharma makes it clear that all elite did not enjoy the equal social status and power. System was hierarchical and even elite of a particular caste in themselves were divided into a hierarchy, e.g., among Brahmins, they were differentiated on the basis of their knowledge regarding Vedas - as Chaturvedi, Trivedi, Dwivedi; among economic elite there was a hierarchy of Jagat-Seth, Nagar-Seth, Gram-Seth and so on. Within each category inequality of ranks prevailed because of differences of knowledge, wealth, generous attitude and relations with the rulers and masses (Sharma; 1976). Yogendra Singh deals broadly with the elite at national level. His focus is on political elite, bureaucrats and political elite of pre-independence era. They all had a high degree of cultural and status homogeneity. All belonged to upper caste, had an urban, middle class background of an english education. The top group in all the segments was exposed to foreign cultural contacts and was educated there (Singh; 1970: 15-19).

Both Sharma and Singh agree to the point that today elite pattern is changed. They show the change at both the levels i.e., at village and national level. Sharma

views that though traditional identity of elite is still visible in society, yet modernization has brought some changes. Today, there is a greater possibility of political elite wielding economic power and that of less possibility of economic dominants exerting political dominance. The cultural elite may have more economic privileges that access to positions of political power. He further classifies that professional elite continue to be a dividing line between different types of elite, though the nature of professionalization, today, is different from that of the traditional one. However, the elite were never a unified group and today also this characteristic of their persists to a large extent. Singh (1970) on the other hand has shown the process of elite transformation at macro-national-level. He writes ,

"Following independence the pattern of elite composition has considerably been changed. The monopoly of a few top status group segment on the political elite position and other elite position is breaking down. As interest group mobilization in party politics increases, the political elite has to project itself increasingly as representative of regional and local cultures and its identities tend to incorporate different shades of traditionaliser". Further, Singh expresses doubt that, "difficulty arising from the changing structure of elite in India is that the need for

our localization of identities might threaten the national integrity and identity"(Singh; 1970).

Who will hold the dominant position in the society and will be different from the rest is a long process. It has repeated itself in hundreds of thousands of communities countless times through out the history. Suzzcene Keeler gives the process of leadership selection through different stages. According to him there are seven such stages of leadership selection: These are - Biological reproduction; Co-optation and appointment; Selection by rat or hat; Purchase of office; Forcible appropriation; Apprenticeship and examination; and Election (Keeler; 1963: 177). Donald Malthus (1954: 9) suggests four ways in which leaders are selected -

- (1) The social basis of leadership theories.
- (2) Political socialization and political modernization theories.
- (3) Political recruitment theories.
- (4) Elective theories.

Factors like family background, educational experience, occupational choices, leisure time activities or community conditions do play important role for active engagement in public affairs. Besides it, age, occupation, caste, religion, linkages, etc. have considerable influence upon

the elite recruitment process (Bhat; 1967: 121-44).

Surjan Singh Sharma has recently done some work on rural elite in West U.P. He analysed the continuity of power in two villages of West U.P., and reached the conclusion that continuing pradhans (political elite) are landowners and cultivators and not old aged. They are literate and educated. The pradhan belongs to a resourceful family and having urban contacts through kins employed in the cities. The pradhan is also money lender in the village. He and his family members are problem solvers. He brings facilities to the village. He wins support of the lower and lowest castes by his sympathetic treatment of them and by extending substantial support to them (Sharma; 1979).

On the basis of the above mentioned studies we can say that today economic, political and social education, etc. are all bases of power- elite. Moreover a person enjoying dominant position, in any of these respect, has easy accessibility to elite position in other fields as well. For instance, a person holding a dominant economic position can easily and often become political elite too and vice-versa. Moreover the traditional process of elite recruitment is changing- lower castes on the basis of their caste support have begun to contest for power positions. Middle group of educated small business class, farmers, teachers and factory workers are emerging in power- positions and youths are

elite- structure of the society, one has to understand the class, caste, and power structure of that society in depth.

Andre Beteille has done lot of exhaustive work on it. His 'caste class and power' (Andre Beteille; 1966) and M.N. Srinivas's 'Social Change in Modern India' (Srinivas; 1966) can be considered poineer works in describing the nature of caste, class and power- relations in Indian society. On the basis of his study in the villages of Tamil Nadu, Andre beteille concludes, "Today, there is a certain amount of divergence between the hierarchy of caste and that of class. Both the systems have been undergoing some modifications, the caste- system because of the general trend towards Westernization and secularization and the class system because of the extension of a cash economy and because of land having come into the market. In traditional society there was much greater consistency between the class-system and the caste-structure. In that society caste and class overlapped to a very large extent- even today there is considerable overlapping; but the class system has gradually been disassociating itself from the caste structure. One can achieve a variety of class positions with different degrees of probability, whatever one's position in caste structure may be (Andre beteille; 1966).

Power, on the other hand has shifted much more decisively from the traditional elite of the village into the hands of

new-popular leaders. Today, in addition to caste and class there are other important locus of power which belong specifically to the domain of politics. The emergence of such local institutions like panchayat system, parties and political network - has largely been a feature of political modernization in India. Today popular leaders of the village are not necessarily big landowners. Today the power is, to a large extent, based upon numerical support within the village and political contacts outside it. These two factors, as we have seen, tend to reinforce each other. To sum up, three following factors effect the elite formation-

- (1) Moderately secured economic position;
- (2) Contacts with officials in government departments; and
- (3) Numerical support and organization.

2.11 Role of elite in development in India: progress with tensions

India is still primarily rural and agricultural country inspite of big efforts motivated since independence towards industrialization. Out of 100 persons 76.67 and out of 100 working persons 78 workers still reside in country side. In fact rural population has increased by 18.96% and the number of workers by 21.5% between 1971-81. Out of 174 million rural workers over 81.12%, were engaged in agriculture during 1981 - remaining 18.88% were engaged in house holds and other

occupations. The number of male agricultural labourers increased from 16.7 millions to 32.2 millions between 1961-81. Most of agricultural labourers were landless. (Census of India; 1981). These statistics show that all the measures for development are and should be focused on the development of weaker and poor sections of the rural society. Since all major power positions - economic, political social or cultural - are dominated by elite groups of society - their role in the development process becomes very important. As a matter of fact, whether at policy formulation stage or at policy implementation stage, it is the 'elite' or 'bureaucrat' - that dominates the scene. Hence any development particularly in societies like ours, should be seen in the framework of elite network of that society.

It is notable that an important feature which has received emphasis only since independence is the abolition of intermediaries, popularly regarded as equivalent to the abolition of Zamindars. Before the announcement of planning (1951) in India most of the land was controlled by Zamindars - who were both small and big. The system of zamindari ownership was a feudal one which hardly provided any incentive to cultivators. Thus the initial attempts of the government were to abolish the zamindari system through the passing of necessary legislation in states assemblies in 1958, the

constitution amendment bill was passed to introduce the legislation on land ceiling. But this legislation could not be implemented successfully and therefore the situation hardly underwent any change in the seventies as supported by the Sixth Plan. "The slow progress (in land-reforms) is due to the unsatisfactory implementation of ceiling lands.... In a number of states the tenants and share croppers are liable to ejectment in exercise of the landlords' indefinite right of resumption" (Plan, Sixth Draft: 131). It is, therefore, fair to conclude that the government has been extremely indifferent towards implementation of land-reforms, as well as, in protecting the rights of small farmers and has allowed the erstwhile zamindars and intermediaries to grow. A new class of Zamindars has come into being in the past few years. The membership of this class is mainly confined to the erstwhile zamindars and intermediaries. Both of them have taken up the honourable titles of commercial-farmers. They are further respected in the official circles for their contribution to farm surpluses (Mahajan; 1983).

Moreover, two sets of factors are particularly important in explaining the variations in the pattern of inequality in Indian- society. There is, first the difference in ecological conditions which account for differences in land use, in productive organization and in the nature of the

agrarian class - structure. Secondly, historical factors are also important in accounting for these differences. Muslim rule and British rule effected the different parts of the country in different ways. In all parts of the country agrarian society has been for centuries graded into layers or strata which were hierarchically arranged.

In a developing society like India, as already pointed out, development should aim primarily at the development of weaker sections. Special programmes for the weaker sections of the population have found an important place in our planning, e.g., programmes of irrigation, employment, land-development, fertilizer production, development of high quality seeds electrification, banking, improvements of communication, etc. are few of the steps which have been taken and are being taken for the welfare of rural sectors. Seth is of the view that major changes which have come about in the agrarian structure due to above mentioned development schemes are - (1) The commercially oriented farmers today exercise a great influence in Indian rural-policy. (2) In the wake of Zamindari abolition, the extension of irrigation, the adoption of new technology and a change in the price structure favouring agriculture - a new middle class of farmers has emerged all over India. (3) A large increase in the agricultural labourers with little or no land at all.

Seth, concludes that "In a exploitative society, with sharp inequalities in wealth and power, it is inevitable that upper strata reap the branches of development while the weaker sections are left high and dry, resulting in increased disparities and heightened tensions" (Seth; 1983: 21). Abdul and Murty have analysed the working of Regional Rural Banks (RRBs) in India during 1975. They find so many short falls in the implementation of schemes - with the result that all benefits go to the rich and powerful farmers and poor remain poor (Abdul and Murty; 1983: 13). Paul and Subramaniam have thoroughly investigated eight development programmes like SFDA, Antodaya, Draught Prone Area Programme, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Programme. Employment Assurantee Programme, Food for Work, etc. on operation bases. They have concluded that all such strategies have failed to benefit the weaker sections. They find two basic reasons for failure. First is the absence of structural changes in the society. According to this view - unless society is radically restructured and productive assests are more equitably distributed, the poorer sections of the population cannot possibily benefit from the gains of development. In the absence of such radical changes - programme will merely serve the interests of the rich and powerful and exploitation-relationship will continue. Second there is the factor of

improper implementation of the programme. Here again beaurocracy is responsible (Paul and Subramaniam; 1983: 399). Mandal and Mahadevan have studied the SFDA programme function in Andhra Pradesh. According to them a major finding of all the studies, done on the functioning of this programme have been that here is a distinct bias in the implementation of the programme mainly towards the already better off sections of the society (Mandal and Mahadevan; 1982: 158).

Fruits of development are generally grabbed by elite in the society. An uneven distribution of the wealth, power and positions is the structural feature of the contemporary India. Since elite held all major power positions formally or informally, they can get the things turned in their own favour. Myrdal too notes, "It is an established fact that types of inequalities as prevelent in South Asia hamper development. Economic inequality - the unequal distribution of income and wealth, and consequently economic power raises some issues that are apt to be more controversial. The paradox that arises is that inspite of the goal-oriented planning and policies, inequality prevails everywhere in South Asia. Economic inequalities have generally not decreased since independence rather the gap is increased" (Myrdal; 1968). Myrdal further shows that existing distribution of wealth in our economy is very uneven and

a only small number of people in each sector are placed in strategic positions. It is these that stand to benefit most from any large public investment leading to uneven economic development. Myrdal further adds that India is ruled by a select group of upper class citizens who use their political power to secure their privileged position (Myrdal; 1968).

Elite group always intend to maintain its identity, because it holds the influence upon the mass only due to its distinct position. Hence, all of elite efforts will primarily be based on maintaining or rather increasing their power- positions. In such kind of social-system, how can we expect that elite will help in the development process? The doubt arises - will they contribute in the development process, particularly in the development of poor and weaker-sections? Will they ever intend to make poor equal to themselves?

Answers to these questions within the framework of above discussion can be manifold. On the face of it the answer to such questions is clear-cut 'No', that is, elite class will always try to keep two different stratas in the society - privileged and non or less- privileged - as their very existence depends upon the existence of other suppressed and oppressed strata. Hence to think of an egalitarian society in the present kind of social structure is an utopia. On the

other hand, elite are also considered major change - agents; whatever changes are visible either at rural or urban level are brought chiefly by elite of that society. It is an accepted fact that elite are superior in one or other branch of activity. They have greater access to all the new changes and they work as 'reference - group' for rest of the society. The mass follow the living and life pattern of elite. Thus modernization, westernization and sanscritization takes place in the basic framework of elite and non-elite interaction.

Nevertheless, the present day society is moving towards increasing democratization. Hence if elite want to maintain their power, position and status, they have to function as representatives of the people. They have to gain their support and sympathy. The people at large are poor and needy. The only way of gaining their support and sympathy is to help them to let them realize that they are prospering and elite lend a big hand, in this development process. In sum, the elite will contribute to development of the underprivileged sections but only upto a certain extent. Elite are successful to maintain their social, political status by gaining the sympathy of the masses in way of giving them a little share in fruits of development. Special programmes for weaker sections, in that sense, provide social and moral support to unequal and unjust order. Hence their role in social

development is very complex. They function both as pro-development and anti-development forces (Bhalla and Chandra; 1982).

2.12 Conclusion

The foregoing discussion on the developmental planning processes in India and the role of local elite class in development helped us to understand the nature of Indian planning system. It also focused on the expenditure, strategies growth and outcome of different plans. Investment in India has increased enormously overtime. A certain level of growth rate has also been maintained — but not upto the mark. The planning keeps on shifting its emphasis on agriculture and industry time to time. Particular developmental schemes, formulated with specific objective of benefiting the weaker and poorer section of society - reach the poor in lesser proportions through several intermediaries. Elite in the form of intermediaries play important parts in the plan - implementation process. The studies and researches point out that more benefits of these developmental schemes go to the already better-off section of society. The elite class will never let the benefits go to the actual targets, as their own status is maintained by the existing sharp inequalities and disparities in the society. It may however, be summarised at this stage that role of elite varies according to the nature of developmental schemes, context and the bases of formation.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY


3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used in the study. It presents the sampling techniques, methods of data collection, problems faced and experiences during the field work, and the statistical methods used in the study.

The present study enjoys evaluative cum exploratory type of research design. It is evaluative as it studies and evaluates the functioning of different developmental schemes at grass root level. The study pin-points the major short falls in the schemes in achieving their goals and explains the reasons, i.e., it concentrates on the malfunctioning of the schemes and their causes. It also provides suggestions and solutions for improvement. The research can be called exploratory as it attempts to explore the role of elite in rural development and discovers the relationship between elite and non-elite sections of the village community.

3.2 Sample and sampling method

As mentioned above, this study was conducted to investigate the status, practice and attitude of the rural mass towards development schemes. The study also focused on the participation and position of elite in the development



processes in selected rural villages. For this purpose, sample enquiry was conducted in two villages of Uttar Pradesh. 'Purposive-sampling' technique was adopted to select the sample of respondents for study. The operational area, i.e., the field of survey was located in district Badaun. The choice of district Badaun as field of survey was made primarily due to the fact that district Badaun is home-district of the author and its local surroundings, traditions, cultures could be more familiar to him. It was also easier to approach the district officials here and to get relevant material for the purpose of this study. Moreover, since he belongs to this district, he is familiar with the local dialect and therefore rapport with the respondents could be established here in easier way than in any other area. The selection of two villages for survey was also based on 'purposive sampling' consideration. It was thought that the ways of functioning of different developmental schemes might differ according to the level of development. Despite the fact that some development schemes are implemented uniformly throughout the district, the fact remains that people of some villages are more benefited through these schemes than the people of other villages. Elite's behaviour and their role in development processes are also determined by so many local factors. We were interested in studying the development processes in

general and, thus, it was felt that inclusion of a comparatively 'developed' and an 'underdeveloped' village in the sample would provide a better understanding of the situation. Hence two villages — one 'less-developed' and the other relatively 'more-developed' — were selected. A few development indicators were identified to help in locating the 'more' and 'less' developed villages as there is no absolute criterion for such a classification. These development indicators were: (a) distance from city; (b) road links with district head quarters; (c) transportation facilities; (d) availability of primary health centres and other medical aids; (e) availability of schools and other educational facilities; (f) availability of drinking water and agricultural resources; (g) types of houses, i.e., kachcha or pakka; and (h) an overall impression of the village that the author had.

Indicators of development were observed in several villages through personal visits after getting some preliminary information about villages from block offices and finally two villages were selected - here after named as village 'A' and village 'B'. Village 'A' represents the 'less developed' category and village 'B' represents the relatively 'more-developed' category. These villages fulfilled the above mentioned conditions of underdevelopment or development. However, they are heterogeneous villages and people belonging

to different castes and socio-economic categories live in these villages.

Upon identifying the villages for the study the next stage of sampling was the selection of villagers for interviews. First, we conducted a census enquiry of all the working heads of households in both the villages. Non-working/old males, non-heads of households, females and children were excluded from the purview of our research sample. As mentioned earlier, our main purpose was to focus on the development process at village level and on the interactions and relations between elite and non-elite, since all these aspects involve the 'working people' who are mostly males in the study area, we excluded the other population from the sample. Working head was picked up from each household and, thus, 245 units — 138 from village A and 107 from village B — were selected. The actual investigation could be carried out in 131 units in village A and 104 units in village B, as rest were either not available at the time of investigation or declined to give responses. This was the first phase of the study. In the second phase of the study, elite were identified through 'positional' and 'reputational- approach' methods. (Schulze, Robert, O. and Blumberg, Leonard, W. ; 1957). Elite are divided into three categories: political elite, economic elite and educational elite. This classification of elite into three

categories was resorted to examine the influence of political network, economic status and educational level. It is notable that though the political, economic and educational elite were identified independently, there was lot of overlapping and in most cases a person falling in any of the three categories also falls in the other categories. All the identified elite were contacted. Finally, in the third phase of the study, concerned governmental officials were approached for informal interviews. All the important government officials, who were related to the implementation process of the development schemes and had important part in the implementation hierarchy were interviewed. The main reason behind this investigation was to look at the development process from officials' point of view. Following officials were contacted for this purpose: District Project Director, IRDP Badaun; District Harizan and social welfare officer; District Agricultural officer; District Adult Education officer; Basic Shiksha Adhikari; Block Development Officers of both the blocks; A.D.O. (Agriculture); A.D.O. (Irrigation); V.L.Os; Co-operative Bank Managers; and P.H.C. Doctors.

3.3 Methods of data collection

The data were collected through 'primary' as well as through 'secondary' sources. The method of primary data collection was that of administering structured schedule

containing both open ended and close ended questions. Since a large proportion of the sample population was non-literate, it was not possible for them to fill up the questionnaire themselves. Therefore, we had to use interview schedule rather than questionnaire, and answers were recorded on the schedules in the appropriate space, by the author himself. This was basically a one-time-survey and no attempt was made to follow up the respondents.

The secondary data were collected from district statistical reports, annual sectoral plans, monthly progress reports of IRDP and census figures. There is no way of determining the accuracy of these data - there may be lapses and constraints in preparing these statistical reports. In addition to the data-obtained through administering more or less structured schedules to the village population and informal interviews with the officials, an attempt was also made to record and analyse few case studies. People who had important and interesting experiences in getting the benefits or any other such incident relevant for the study were thoroughly examined. Their personal experiences helped to draw some logical conclusions by a critical examination of the observed incidences.

The field work was conducted during January 1984 to September 1984 in two parts. The first part started in January

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1984 and continued upto April 1984. Village 'A' was surveyed during this period. Concerned officials connected with these villages were also interviewed during the same period. The second part of the field-work started in June 1984 and continued upto September 1984. Village 'B' was surveyed during this period and concerned officials related to this village were interviewed. Data through secondary sources were obtained from time to time as and when needed.

3.4 The field experience

The field work gives valuable experience which is of immense importance in obtaining substantive knowledge of the problem, and developing research strategies and conducting emperical studies in future. The field study gives real insight into rural design of living which certainly adds to the bookish knowledge of the researcher — or the knowledge had from official statistics. Our spell of field work was exciting, educative and interesting too, though it was not the roses all around. It takes a lot of time and tricks to establish rapport with the villagers. First, the investigator appears as a stranger and the various types of meaning are attached to him and his unit. They treat him as intruder. Their fear and suspicion is quite understandable, as they have been cheated and exploited by city people for a long time and that is why they suspect every such person as agent

of exploitation and broker of government. At the same time they think that the person may be part of bureaucracy and contacts with him can yield certain benefits. Investigator has to convince them about his purpose of visits with great difficulty. A common non-literate villager does not have any idea of research done by an independent person or an academic institution. Most of them, at least initially, are likely to associate research with state activities. And, therefore they may be reluctant and may even decline to give responses, if he is not convinced with the purpose of enquiry and if that purpose is not in their interest typically their response is: "I am not fit to answer your question. Why don't you try our Pradhan or other more aware persons of the village".

Investigator has to convince them that these enquiries are done for their benefits and their needs and problems will be carried to appropriate authorities and at the same time, he should be conscious that the respondents may exaggerate their grievances, i.e., they envisage any link between their responses and state planning. Investigator has to be very cautious and sensitive through out the field work; a small mistake can destroy his whole field work. Villagers are very traditional and emotional people in their ways of life and, therefore, an investigator should not do anything which may hurt their sentiments. Investigator should not allign himself to a

particular village group, as group rivalry is very sensitive in the villages. He should keep out himself from village politics and behave equally with every one. In the last, investigator should be quite familiar with the field's social-economic- political and cultural backgrounds. It has been observed that in any social stratum one can always find one or two educated persons through whom the investigator can establish effective communication with the rest. These persons can convey the purpose of research to other villagers in their own language and prepare them to furnish correct response.

3.5 Methods of analysis and use of statistics

Data obtained through interview/questionnaire schedules were the raw data. Upon completion of field-work, we cleared the decks and scrutinized all the schedules. Answers were obtained in open ended and close ended form. Suitable coding plan was developed for both types of question. Then the data were coded, and then processed on the DEC 10 computer.

Descriptive and inferential statistics were computed for the analytical purposes with the aid of SPSS (statistical package for social-sciences), a special package programme prepared by the university of Pittsburg; statistical tools like frequency distribution, cross tabulation, multiple cross tabulation, correlations and multiple regression were obtained

for the analysis of data. Besides it informal interview responses were analysed and logical conclusions were drawn and the various case studies conducted in course of the field-work were examined. The report is based largely on the analysis of quantitative data obtained through schedules - the other kinds of informations have been used mainly to explain or substantiate the results.

CHAPTER 4

THE SETTING: DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE DISTRICT

4.1 Introduction

Present chapter focuses on the characteristics of the sample district. The chapter provides a geographical, social, economic and administrative description of district Badaun. It also shows the existing development problems in the district. The chapter also aims to analyse the functioning of different development schemes. The tables and description presented in the chapter provide a contextual framework to study the problems of development and role of elite. The district level figures and facts may help the reader to understand the nature and form of development as exist in the district. What kinds of major population distribution are existing in the district? What is the poverty situation in the district? When and how the development schemes were implemented? What are the different types of targets and achievements? What is the administrative structure? These are few factors which need to be known before analysing the development process at village level.

4.2 Geographical and administrative description

District Badaun lies in the South-West area of Rohilkhand division (U.P.). Bareilly, Moradabad and Rampur

districts make its north boundary. River Ganges makes its south-west boundary. Eastern boundary lies with river Ramganga. River Ganges touches 120 kms. long south boundary of district Badaun.

The area of district Badaun is 5158 sq. km. and the population of this district is 1,97,100 (according to 1981 census). Some population characteristics of district Badaun are shown in the following tables. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of population according to its male-female and rural-urban composition.

Table 4.1

Population Distribution in District Badaun (1981)

Sl. No.	Population Distribution	Population (in thousands)	Percentage
1.	Male	1090	55.3
2.	Female	881	44.7
Total		1971	100.00
1.	Urban	318	16.14
2.	Rural	1653	83.86
Total		1971	100.00

Source: Statistical report (1981), District statistical office, Badaun.

The above table shows that sex ratio in district Badaun is highly imbalanced; it is 808 females per 1000 males. The level of urbanization in the district is only 16.14%. The rate of population growth between 1971 and 1981 was 19.5%.

Population was further categorised according to different religions. Table 4.2 shows the religious distribution of population of the district.

Table 4.2

Population Distribution According to Different Religions (1971)

Sl. No.	Religions	Population Rural	Population Urban	Total	Percentage
1.	Hindu	1256193	82595	1338788	81.3
2.	Moslims	233772	69890	303662	18.5
3.	Christians	1854	689	2543	0.15
4.	Sikhs	138	250	388	0.02
5.	Others	139	448	587	0.03
Total		1492096	153872	1645968	100.00

Source: Statistical report (1982), District Statistical office, Badaun.

The above table shows that Hindu population constitute about 81.3% of the total population. They are followed, though

with very big margin, by Moslims who are about 18% in the total population. Christians and Sikhs are in very limited numbers in the district.

Population was further subdivided according to different age groups. Following table shows the distribution of population according to different age groups.

Table 4.3

Distribution of Population According to Different Age Groups

Sl. No.	Age groups	Male population	Female population	Total	Percentage
1.	15 or less	380089	305194	685283	41.63
2.	15 - 60	460020	377345	837365	50.90
3.	60 and above	68396	54924	123320	7.47
Total		908505	737463	1645968	100.00

Source: Statistical report (1982), District statistical office, Badaun.

From administrative point of view the district is divided into five Tehsils — Badaun, Sahswan, Gunnaur, Bisauli, and Dataganj — and into 18 development blocks Rajpura, Gunnaur, Junavai, Islamnagar, Asafpur, Bisauli, Vazirganj, Dahganwa, Sahswan, Ambiapur, Salarpur, Jagat, Ujhani, Kadar Chauk, Dataganj, Samrare, Usanwa, and Myaun.

Total number of villages in these blocks are 2089, out of which 275 are de-populated. 1416 Gram Sabha and 164 Nyaya Panchayats are functioning in the district Badaun.

4.3 Agriculture

Indicators of education, industry and economic factors reveal that Badaun is a backward district. The main economic activity of the district is agriculture. According to 1981 census, 86% of the total population was engaged in agricultural activities; 78.46% of the workers were cultivators and another 7.99% were agricultural labourers. Thus any change in agriculture- input process or output- effect the 86.45% of the total population (District Statistical Reports; 1983: 84).

The district statistical report shows that total agricultural land in district Badaun is 456.9 thousand hectares, out of which 14.9 thousand hectare land is unfertile and 41.3 thousand hectare land is fertile but unsowed. Thus, the net sowed area is 400.7 thousand hectare in district Badaun (Plan, District Sectoral; 1983). The report also shows the division of land according to production of different crops. Following table shows such distribution.

Table 4.4

Division of Land According to Crops (1981)

Sl. No.	Crops	Sowed area (in thousand hectares)	Production (in thousand tons)
1.	Rice	43.8	59.5
2.	Wheat	208.0	344.6
3.	Out	10.2	7.1
4.	Millet	99.6	77.3
5.	Maize	33.5	25.3
6.	Gram	22.2	20.6
7.	Barley	7.2	5.6
8.	Moong	0.5	0.2
9.	Arhar	10.9	15.1
10.	Urd	7.9	4.8
11.	Peas	5.7	5.2
12.	Peanuts	40.4	33.1
13.	Mustard	7.7	3.6

Source: Statistical report (1927), District
Statistical office, Badaun.

The above table indicates that the major crop of the district is wheat. It is cultivated in the maximum area

and its production is also larger than other crops. Further, the report shows that 275.7 thousand hectare land is under KHARIF cultivation and 266.7 thousand hectare land is under RABI cultivation. This is also important to note here that large land of 100.29 thousand hectare is distributed among large population of 251481 and no landowner owns more than one hectare. Further 100367 farmers own agricultural land between 1 to 3 hectares and 77.03 thousand hectare land is divided among 20270 farmers who own the land between 3 to 5 hectares. Lastly, 66.259 thousand hectare land was divided among 9065 farmers who owned more than 5 hectare land each.

Since agriculture is the base of district economy, government has started several development programmes like distribution of more productive seeds, fertilizers distribution, agriculture- protection, etc. Government is running a comprehensive scheme for maximum availability of high yield variety seeds to maximum number of farmers. During 1982-83 - 1800 kw. seeds were distributed and for 1983-84 a target of distribution of 2940 kw. seeds is set. Under the fertilizer distribution programme 13.19 thousand metric ton Nytrozen, 3.36 metric ton Phosphetic and 1.11 thousand metric ton Potash fertilizer were distributed during 1982-83. 3600 metric ton fertilizer was distributed during 1983-84 though the target was 3700 metric ton. Under the development programme

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of oil pulses, the main product is peanuts. During 1979-80 the area under peanuts production was 42326 hectare which increased to 43244 hectares during 1980-81 (Statistical report; 1982). Demonstrations are held to increase its production. To test the productivity of land and which input is needed in what quantity - one laboratory is set up at district Badaun, which tests around 26000 samples of land in a year. One laboratory is considered insufficient for the district having 400 thousand hectares productive land. Hence, during 1982-83 one more such testing laboratory is proposed to be set which will test additional 1200 samples per year. Besides, specific measures have been adopted to protect the crops from various insects and other devastating diseases.

One of the important cash crop of the district is 'cane'. During 1980-81, 13575 hectares cane was produced. One government sugar factory at Naushera (Shekhupur) is situated in the district, while several other private crushers are also functioning in the district. For better cane production during 1980-81, 440 metric tones seeds were distributed. The proposed target for this distribution is 1300 metric ton during 1982-84.

Sale and storing of product is an essential aspect of agriculture. Following market cooperatives are running for providing better market facilities to farmers -

- (1) Class 'A' cooperatives - Ujhani;
- (2) Class 'B' cooperatives - Badaun, Bilsa, Bisauli, Vazirganj; and
- (3) Class 'C' cooperatives - Dataganj, Sahaswan, Baprara.

Farmers sale their products in these cooperatives.

Besides it, 10 government godowns with capacity of 0.18 lakhs metric ton and 35 cold storages are established in the district for storage of products.

Under Sixth Five Year Plan, following proposals were made for agriculture development (Plan, District Sectoral; 1983) -

- (1) Management of land and water on scientific basis;
- (2) Improvement the productivity of land;
- (3) Best utilization of the available water in irrigated land;
- (4) Increasing the use of fertilizers per hectare; and
- (5) Provision of the development opportunities to small and marginal farmers.

4.4 Irrigation

Irrigation is most important means of improving agricultural production. The district has only 8.5 km. long canal which is not at all sufficient for irrigation. Therefore farmers have to depend on minor - irrigation sources. Table 4.5 shows the available sources of minor irrigation in the district.

Table 4.5

Type & Number of Irrigation Sources

Sl. No.	Sources	Numbers (82-83)
1.	Government Tubewells	838
2.	Private Tubewells	10027
3.	Pumpsets	17933
4.	Pakka Wells	51142
5.	Rahat	44963

Source: Statistical report (1982), District Statistical office, Badaun.

As is clear from the above table, the major source of irrigation in the district is through private pumpsets and tubewells. Government tubewells are very few in the district. Marginal farmers cannot afford erecting private tubewells and pumpsets. Therefore they have to purchase water from the big land-holders, who own means of irrigation. Government needs to give due consideration to this aspect of irrigation for better agricultural production.

The expansion of minor irrigation sources depends on the availability of the water under earth. According to a report the net available recoverable recharge is 983 M.C.M. Out of which only 695.39 M.C.M. water is utilized through present

irrigation sources. During 1983-84, 15500 hectares additional area is supposed to be irrigated through 1000 wells, 950 rahats, 800 private tubewells and 1500 pumpsets.

4.5 Electricity

Electrical power is one of the chief source of development. The available electricity in the district is not sufficient. Upto March 1982 only 784/1814 villages were electrified. During 1983-84 the proposed target was to electrify 71 villages and 47 Harizan localities. Comparative analysis of electricity situation in district Badaun can be drawn from the following table.

Table 4.6

Electricity (Kilowatt per hour) Consumption

Sl. No.	Electricity Consumption	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
1.	Total percentage of electrified villages	33.1	42.3	43.2
2.	Electricity consumption per head	51.7	53.1	57.0
3.	Electricity consumption on irrigation	64594	68005	76465

Source: Plan, District Sectoral (1983), annual plan (1983-84), District Statistical office, Badaun

The table shows that 10% more villages are electrified during last 3 years. Electricity consumption per head and consumption on irrigation has considerably gone up. It should also be noted that supply of electricity in the district is highly irregular, particularly for the villages. Even during agriculture-seasons, when demand of electricity for agricultural operation is at peak, power is supplied for limited hours and that also mostly during nights.

4.6 Health and family welfare

Health and family welfare is another important aspect in the development process. The district is in poor condition of health and family welfare. Here, infant mortality rate, and maternity death rates are very high. Rate of deaths through wide spread viral diseases is high. The analysis of available medical facilities can be made from the following table -

Table 4.7

Available Health and Family Welfare Facilities

Sl. No.	Available facilities	Number
1.	Total number of PHCs	19
2.	Subcentres	72
3.	Family welfare centres	91

Contd....

(Table 4.7 contd....)

4.	Allopathic Hospitals	
	(a) Rural	15
	(b) Urban	8
	(c) Total	23
5.	Ayurvedic Hospitals	
	(a) Rural	15
	(b) Urban	-
6.	Homeopathic Hospital	4
7.	Yunani	4
8.	Mother and child welfare centres	72

Source: Statistical report (1982),
District Statistical office Badaun.

The above table shows that number of primary Health Centres (PHCs) in the district is 19, that is, almost one PHC in each block. One PHC, thus, covers around one lakh population. Though it is normal from government policy angle, but since one PHC serves one lakh population, scattered over a large number of villages, sometime more than 10 km. apart from the centers, the facilities are not really accessible to the villagers. Rural roads are also not in good condition and thus in case of sickness, taking patients to the center may be a difficult task. Moreover, centers have

their own problems of staffing, resources, buildings, etc. Other available medical aids in the villages are also not proper. Incompetent private doctors generally visit the villages, who charge very high. Due to these problems mortality rates and particularly, mortality among infants is too high through out the District.

Family planning is being propogated through personal contacts, films, demonstrations, press notes, literature, posters, etc. People are inspired to use family planning methods. During 1980-81, 707 operations were conducted, 2234 loops were fitted and 973 hospital abortion cases were reported. During 1981-82, 1932 operations, 2530 loops and 1079 abortions were reported. The proposed target for 1982-83 is 10950 operations and 6330 loops (Plan, District Sectoral; 1983: 82-91).

4.7 Literacy

District Badaun is a backward district according to education and literacy rates. According to 1981 census, the literacy level in the district is 16.03%. The analysis of literacy and educational situation can be drawn through the following table.

Table 4.8

Literacy Rate (1961-81)

Sl. No.	Year	Male percentage	Female percentage	Total percentage
1.	1961	14.21	4.16	9.19
2.	1971	18.19	5.86	12.03
3.	1981	23.75	8.3	16.03

Source: Statistical report (1982), District Statistical office, Badaun.

The table shows that there is an increase of 4% in the literacy level during last 10 year. Present literacy rates are also too low.

In a large number of villages in the district, numbering about 571, even primary schools are not available. During 1981-82, government gave aid for establishment of 11 Junior basic and 5 Senior basic schools. According to 1981 census, 10.86% population in rural areas and 30.35% population in urban areas is literate. Due to the high illiteracy level, particularly in rural areas, the administration has started Adult Education Programme in two blocks of the district. Earlier the programme was run by state government, but now the programme has been incorporated into district sector plan.

During 1981-82, 200 males and 100 female centres were opened under Adult-Education Programme where 8078 males and 870 females were registered. During 1983-84, 60 more Adult Education Centres have been proposed for which 4 lakh rupees have been allotted.

4.8 Problems related to weaker communities

According to 1971 census, the population of scheduled castes in the district was 265000, which is 16.08% of the total population. This section of the population is scattered through out the district and is not centered at one place. Majority of the scheduled caste population reside in the rural areas. This community, like in other parts of the country, is socially and economically deprived. Literacy among such castes is negligible. Most of them are working as agricultural and landless labourers in the villages. Upper caste people still maintain distance from this community and thus they (SC) are alienated from the mainstream. Weaker communities are also victims of exploitative traditions.

Following are the main problems - which this community is facing in the district.

- (1) Lack of drinking water;
- (2) Lack of residential place;
- (3) Lack of agricultural land;
- (4) Lack of working opportunities;

- (5) Lack of working capital;
- (6) High illiteracy; and
- (7) Social exploitation.

Government is committed to improve the conditions of weaker communities. Several programmes for the benefits of this community are in operation (Plan; District Sectoral; 1983: 74-75).

4.9 Integrated rural development programme (IRDP)

Integrated rural development programme is operated all over the district since 1980-81. The objective of IRDP is to raise the poor above the poverty line through different financial aids. 600 families per year are identified and benefitted out of each of the 18 development blocks. Thus 300 families per block and total of 64,000 families will be benefitted during five years (1980-85). Rs. 35 lakhs are allotted to each block making total Rs 630 lakhs for the district. Following are the criterion - through which the village population is categorised and identified for the selection of beneficiaries (Plan, Perspective; 1980-85).

1. Small- Farmers: The farmers who hold 1.66 acre to 3.33 acre class I irrigated land or 2.5 to 5 acres un-irrigated land will be considered as small-farmers.
2. Marginal farmers: Those farmers who hold upto 1.66 acre class I irrigated land or upto 2.5 acre unirrigated

As mentioned earlier too, the IRDP was operationalized in all the blocks of the district. Small farmers development programme (SFDA) was incorporated into new programme and the administration formulated five year (1980-85) perspective plan under IRD scheme for rapid and systematic development.

Table 4.9

Summary of Five Year IRDP Plan (1980-85)

Sl. Programme No.	Beneficiaries	Need of loan		Government aid	Total (Lakhs Rs.)
		Mid term	Long term		
1. Agriculture	15155	412.65	-	199.30	611.95
2. Minor-irrigation	4845	-	239.81	97.54	337.35
3. Catteling	16000	242.97	-	104.03	347.00
4. Small-industry	8550	146.34	-	62.82	209.16
5. Service/occupation	9450	160.74	-	68.76	229.50
6. Establishment	-	-	-	27.00	27.00
7. TRYSEM	3600	-	-	25.20	25.20
8. Cooperatives	-	-	-	13.35	13.35
9. Others	-	-	-	32.00	32.00
Total	57600	962.70	239.81	630.00	1832.51

Net beneficiaries 54000

Agriculture, minor irrigation, catelling industry, and employment generation are the main proposed schemes under IRDP during this perspective plan. These schemes are further subdivided into several components. The financial allocation was Rs. 1832.51 lakhs for five years (1980-85) period. Out of which Rs. 630 lakhs were in the form of government aid and 1202.51 lakhs, were given in the form of loan through different banks. Total number of beneficiaries is 54,000.

It is clear from table 4.9 that loans are given under IRDP mainly for agriculture, irrigation, catteling, small industries etc. Maximum number of target beneficiaries are put for catteling. 16000 rural people are supposed to be benefited during 1980-85 in the form of getting loans for catteling. Next in preference are the loans given for different agricultural means.

Different proposed schemes under IRDP were further subdivided into detailed classification in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10

Proposed Schemes in the Five-Year Plan (1980-85)

Sl. No.	Programme	Beneficiaries	Need of loans (in lakhs)	Government aid (in lakhs)
1.	<u>Agriculture</u>			
1.	Bullock pair	8415	176.75	75.70
2.	Dunlop cart	6740	235.90	101.10
3.	Input	-	-	22.50
	Total	15155	412.65	199.30
2.	<u>Minor Irrigation</u>			
1.	Tubewells	730	54.75	18.25
2.	Pumpsets	1745	85.52	36.63
3.	Rahat/Boring	2370	99.54	42.66
	Total	4845	239.81	97.54
3.	<u>Catteling</u>			
1.	Milk giving animals	7000	147.00	63.00
2.	Goats	7250	8120	34.80
3.	Pigs	1750	14.77	6.23
	Total	16000	242.97	104.03
4.	<u>Rural small scale industry</u>			
		8550	146.34	62.82

contd...

(Table 4.10 contd...)

5. Other occupation and investment

1. Sweing	2700	28.44	12.06
2. Riksha/Tanga	4500	100.80	43.20
3. Occupation	2250	31.50	13.50
Total	9450	160.74	68.76

The above table shows that bullock carts, Junlop carts and Input aid formed the agriculture section under IRDP. A total of 15155 beneficiaries were supposed to get Rs. 412.65 lakhs as loan and 199.30 lakhs Rs. as government aid for these agricultural benefits. Catteling includes milk giving animals, goats, and pigs. Maximum government aid is allocated for agriculture only with the aim of improvement in agriculture production and agricultural facilities.

Loans will be given through different banks and financial agencies. The distribution of money allotted to different banks under IRDP is shown in the table presented in the appendix.

4.10 Conclusion

The chapter shows that district Badaun is a backward district of the state. The reasons behind this backwardness

may be lack of proper industrial and modern agricultural development. The district possess most productive alluvial-soil though at some places sandy soil may also be found. The population is concentrated in rural- areas and the main crop of the district is wheat. Irrigation resources are limited and therefore proper timely irrigation remain a problem for farmers. Lack of sufficient electricity expansion also hamper the development processes in the district. Though there are sufficient health centers and subhealth centers in the district, the available facilities are not satisfactory. Literacy rate is too low - indicating one of the major cause and consequence of underdevelopment. IRDP has been adopted here since 1980. But it has not appreciably averted rural backwardness - and poverty.

CHAPTER 5

VILLAGE, VILLAGER AND DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter describes the general characteristics of the study villages and presents the distribution of sample respondents according to their age, caste, religion, occupation and size of land holding. It also deals with the aspects of development in the concerned villages like objective changes in the villages, subjective changes in respondents' perception of development, their problems, and efforts for development.

5.2 Characteristics of the villages

As pointed out earlier too, research was carried out in two villages of district Badaun. One represents less-developed village, while the other one represents relatively more developed village. In the present section a brief description of major characteristics of study villages have been made.

(a) Village 'A'

The field work has been conducted in two villages of district Badaun. The first investigated village, hereafter referred as village 'A', is around 12 km. in north of Badaun city. It is 3 km. away from the main Badaun Dataganj road and is linked by 'Half- KHARANJA' road. Population of this

village was 1423 according to 1971 census and number of families in the village were around 250. The village is underdeveloped according to any set of development framework. Electricity has not yet reached the village, barring few houses in scheduled caste community. The village has a primary school but its building is in a very bad shape, enrollment is too low, and teachers are not regular and interested in their duties. There is one Montesary school which is around 5 km. away from the village. Interested habitants send their children to this school for better primary education. But since high fee is charged in this school, every one is not able to avail this opportunity.

There are very few changes in the conditions of the above village over last 10 to 15 years: one road linking village to the main road has been half constructed; one scheduled caste colony aided by 50% government financial help has come up. There is no government dispensary or doctor available in the village. A few private doctors, however, frequently visit the village. Most of them have no professional degree or diploma and they take advantage of the situation; they lack any genuine concern for the patients and come to make some money.

(b) Village 'B'

The second investigated village, hereafter referred as village 'B', lies 8 km. in south of district Badaun on main

Badaun- Kasganj road. Population of the village was 1,112 according to 1971 census. Number of families in the village were around 199. The village gained importance when a government Sugar Factory was set up near this village. This is the only sugar factory in the district. One 'Paper Mill' is also established on the other side of the village. The village is linked with Badaun city on north side, and block ujhani on the south- side through frequent transport services. The village has been electrified about 10 years ago, though only few houses were electrified at the time of survey. The village has a primary school, and a Junior High school is running in a nearby village at a distance of about 2 km. Recently a High School has been opened in the campus of the sugar factory. Thus there have been some modest improvements in the village over last 10 to 15 years; the village was provided electricity; better roads were constructed inside the village; cemented houses are constructed both privately and through government financial assistance and recently one branch of Nehru Yuvak Kendra* is also initiated in the village. There is no government health facility available in the village. Primary health center is around 2 kms. from the village. Private doctors frequently visit the village.

* NEHRU YUVAK KENDRA - A youth club started with the objective of multidimensional development of youth's personality.

5.3 Villagers

As mentioned in chapter 3, the working heads of the households were contacted on the census basis in both the villages. All respondents were male. Total respondents contacted were 235, out of which 131 belongs to village 'A' and 104 belong to village 'B'.

The distribution of the sample respondents according to their age, religion, caste, literacy, land-holding, occupation and household size are shown in the present section.

5.3.1 Age distribution

Respondents represent different age groups ranging from 20 to 60 years and above. Following table shows the distribution of respondents according to their age groups.

Table 5.1

Age Distribution of Sample Population

Sl. No.	Age groups (in years)	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb-ers	Perce-ntage	Numb-ers	Perce-ntage	Numb-ers	Perce-ntage
1.	20 - 25	23	17.6	10	9.6	33	14.0
2.	26 - 30	16	12.2	15	14.4	31	13.2
3.	31 - 35	23	17.6	17	16.3	40	17.0
4.	36 - 40	24	18.3	20	19.2	44	18.7
5.	41 - 45	14	10.7	11	10.6	25	10.7
6.	46 - 50	18	13.7	15	14.4	33	14.0
7.	51 - 55	3	2.3	6	5.8	9	3.8
8.	56 - 60	5	3.8	6	5.8	11	4.7
9.	61 and above	5	3.8	4	3.9	9	3.9
Total		131	100.00	104	100.00	235	100.00

Av. Age 7

The above table shows that maximum number of respondents (44) fall in the age group of 36-40. This group is followed by age group of 31-35 (in which the respondents' number is 40). Most of the respondents, as many as 202 out of 235 respondents, fall between age group 20 to 50. This is obvious, because all the respondents are the working heads of their households.

5.3.2 Religion and caste distribution

The sample respondents were classified according to their religions and castes. It was found that 96% (223) of the sample respondents are Hindu and the remaining 4% (12) are Moslims. No other religious category reside in any of the two villages.

The villages are quite heterogeneous in terms of caste categories. Following table shows the distribution of respondents according to different castes.

Table 5.2

Caste Distribution of Sample Respondents

Sl. Caste- No. category	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- tage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1. Brahman	2	1.5	2	1.9	4	1.7
2. Vaishya	1	0.8	4	3.8	5	2.1
3. Other high castes*	2	1.5	6	5.8	8	3.4
4. Maurya	40	30.5	37	35.6	77	32.8
5. Other middle castes**	1	0.8	4	3.8	5	2.1
6. Murao	29	22.1	-	-	29	12.3
7. Mallah	1	0.8	24	23.1	25	10.6
8. Other backward castes***	28	21.4	4	3.8	32	13.6
9. Scheduled castes	27	20.6	23	22.3	50	21.3
Total	131	100.00	104	100.00	235	100.00

* Other High castes include - Thakur

** Other Middle castes include - Kayasthas, Kurmis, etc.

*** Other Backward castes include - Rathore, Pal, Kumhar, Barai, etc.

The table shows that Mauryas (Yadavas) are numerically dominant in both the villages. Village 'A' consists of 31%

(40) Mauryas, while village 'B' possess 36% (37) Mauryas among total respondents. Muraos and Mallahas are two major backward castes in village 'A' and 'B' respectively. These castes are economically poor and socially backward and thus represent weakest communities of the villages. Other significant backward castes are Rathore, Kumhar, Pali and Barai. Most of these are traditional occupational castes. Rathores were traditionally engaged in Oil- business, Kumhars dealt with clay, Pali kept the animals, particularly sheeps were their main source of livelihood and Barais were carpenters. All these backward castes today, have almost disowned their traditional occupations and are engaged as agricultural labourers. Scheduled caste respondents constitute 21.3% (50) among the total study subjects. Members of Scheduled caste community have been provided tremendous government assistance. They are constantly benefited by loans, electricity, pakka houses, scholarships, fee - concessions, etc., but still they are economically and socially deprived. One encouraging feature was that social gaps between scheduled caste community and other caste communities are reducing. The reasons behind are several : the effect of modernization, power-politics, spreading fear of consequences among other caste people due to strict government measures taken to remove untouchability and backwardness of scheduled castes are some of the main factors.

Villages are set up along the caste and community lines. Yadavas (Maurya), Murao, Mallah, Kumhar, etc. all constitute separate localities in the villages. Though there is good amount of interaction between these different parts of the village, people prefer to interact in their own locality only. There are separate 'chaupals'* for these segregated parts based on caste lines. Whenever anyone needs money, he/she prefers to manage it from his/her own caste group only. Since Yadavas are economically, and politically dominant in both the villages, other caste members always try to come close to them to get employment and other benefits.

5.3.3 Literacy

Literacy level is one of the important indicator of development and modernization. Indian government is committed to increase the level of literacy. Schools have been opened in the far-flung rural areas. Free primary education has been provided. However, due to historical backwardness, economic difficulties and cultural constraints-literacy is far from its desired goal. Here, our sample respondents are distributed according to their achieved literacy levels. The following table shows the number of respondents and their literacy levels.

* CHAUPAL - A place where males of the village leisurly sit and gossip. Any important meeting is held here. Place is also used to entertain guests.

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Table 5.3

Literacy Levels of Sample Population

Sl. No.	Levels of literacy	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Illiterates	91	69.5	81	77.9	172	73.2
2.	Primary	14	10.6	8	7.7	22	9.4
3.	Middle	4	3.1	5	4.8	9	3.8
4.	High School	15	11.5	3	2.9	18	7.7
5.	Intermediate	2	1.5	3	2.9	5	2.1
6.	Degree and above	5	3.8	4	3.8	9	3.8
Total		131	100.00	104	100.00	235	100.00

Table 5.3 makes it clear that both the villages have high rate of non-literacy. As many as 73.2% (172) in all are illiterates. Village 'A' consists of 69.5% (91) illiterates. In both the villages only 2.1% (5) have passed intermediate examination and 3.8% (9) are degree holders. Comparatively seen, village 'A' is marginally better than village 'B' in literacy though no clearcut difference could be noticed on the basis of the above table.

5.3.4 Distribution of land

Land-holding is one of the primary measure to assess one's economic status in rural setting. Not only economic but

social and cultural environment too are effected through the pattern of land. The most common unit to measure the land is 'Bigha'. Bighas are of two kinds: 'kacha-Bigha' and 'pakka-Bigha' six kacha bighas or three pakka bighas constitute one acre. Here, we have used 'kacha-Bigha' as measuring unit. Following table shows the distribution of sample- respondents according to the size of land-holding.*

Table 5.4

Land-holding Distribution of Sample Respondents

Sl. No.	Size of land holding (in bighas)	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Landless labourers (0-5)	65	49.6	36	34.6	101	42.9
2.	Marginal farmers (5-15)	26	19.8	22	21.1	48	20.4
3.	Small farmers (15-30)	23	17.6	19	18.3	42	17.9
4.	Average farmers (30-60)	7	5.4	11	10.6	18	7.7
5.	Big farmers (60 and above)	10	7.6	16	15.4	26	11.1
Total		131	100.00	104	100.00	235	100.00

* Land holding classification scale was constructed according to government classification under the IRD scheme (Five Yeras perspective plan; 1980-85; 1)

The table clearly points out that both the villages are overshadowed by those who have either no land or possess land between 0 to 5 bighas. Comparatively seen village 'A' is poorer than village 'B'. Number of landless respondents are more in former than in latter. There are 26 big farmers in both the villages consisting of 10 in village 'A' and 16 in village 'B'. Land holding patterns were crosstabulated with caste to get a more elaborative and clear picture (Tabulated data not shown here). It was found that Mauryas (Yadavas) possess more land than other caste respondents. Out of 26 big farmers, 65.4% (17) belong to Mauryas (Yadavas). There are only 24.7% (18) respondents among Mauryas who do not own land. Scheduled caste respondents, on the other hand, have smaller land-holdings. There are as many as 79% (38) scheduled caste respondents who do not possess land at all. A significant percentage of other backward caste respondents- belonging to Mallahas, Muraos, etc. are also landless. This description of landholding patterns indicate that both the villages are economically dominated by Mauryas (Yadavas) which is a middle caste. Backward caste respondents including scheduled castes lack landed property. High caste respondents are not much in our sample. These few high caste respondents own a sizable agricultural land and are also in services.

5.4.5. Occupational distribution

Rural societies are always dominated by agricultural occupation and most of the habitants are engaged in agricultural or in related work only. Therefore, land-holding patterns of the villages help us to identify the major social classes. However, a separate enquiry has been made here to find out occupational patterns of the villages. Following table shows the occupational- patterns of the villages.

Table 5.5

Occupational Distribution of Sample Respondents

Sl. No.	Main occupations	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce ntage	Numb ers	Perce ntage
1.	Owner culti- vators	46	35.1	40	38.5	86	36.6
2.	Cultivators cum-agricultural labourers	47	35.9	21	20.2	68	28.9
3.	Landless labourers	28	21.4	33	31.7	61	26.0
4.	Artisans	4	3.1	-	-	4	1.7
5.	Business/ service	5	3.8	8	7.7	13	5.5
6.	Dependent	1	0.7	-	-	1	0.4
7.	Others	-	-	2	1.9	2	0.9
Total		131	100.00	104	100.00	235	100.00

The above table shows that 36.6% (86) of the total respondents are owner cultivators; 54.8% (129) are agricultural and landless labourers. 7.3% are service-holders or are engaged in business and 1.3% are either dependents or doing some other work.

5.3.6 Household size distribution

Here an enquiry was made to find out the average household size of the respondents. Following table shows the distribution of sample population according to their household sizes.

Table 5.6

Household Size Distribution of Sample Respondents

Sl. No.	Household size (in numbers)	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	0 - 5	61	46.6	38	36.5	99	42.1
2.	6 - 10	57	43.5	41	39.4	98	41.7
3.	11 - 15	12	9.2	21	20.2	33	14.0
4.	16 and above	1	0.7	1	1.0	2	0.9
5.	Household size not responded	-	-	3	2.9	3	1.3
6.	Total	131	100.00	104	100.00	235	100.00
7.	Average house- hold size	6.23		7.23		6.7	
8.	Standard deviation	2.74		3.58		3.2	

The table shows that the average household size of village 'B' is higher than that of village 'A'. Average household size of both the villages is 6.7. Here household size includes all those who are residing with the respondents under the same roof and are dependent upon respondent's income.

5.4 Aspects of development

As pointed out earlier too, many important government policies and planning strategies are directed towards rural development. Rural development includes not only the upliftment of weaker and poorer sections of the society, but also includes infra-structural development of the villages. Infra-structural development aims at provision of basic facilities like health, family welfare, sanitation, opportunities of employment, education and pakka- roads/houses, etc. Like other villages of U.P., the development process has also been excellerated in the investigated villages through IRDP, NRP and several other such schemes. The investigator was interested to findout the patterns of development in these villages and reactions and awareness among villagers regarding these developmental efforts.

5.4.1 Developmental status of the villages

First, respondents were asked to rank their respective village under any of the following four categories: developed, developing, middle, and underdeveloped. Following table

indicates the responses.

Table 5.7

Developmental Status of the Villages

Sl. No.	Perceived status of the village	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Developed	6	4.6	16	15.4	22	9.4
2.	Developing	18	13.7	21	20.2	39	16.6
3.	Middle stage	22	16.8	33	31.7	55	23.4
4.	Underdeveloped	85	64.9	29	27.9	114	48.5
5.	No response	0	-	5	4.8	5	2.1
Total		131	100.00	104	100.00	235	100.00

The above table shows that in the opinion of respondents, village 'B' is relatively more developed than village 'A'. Only 18.3% (24) respondents reported village 'A' as developed - or developing - while this percentage for village 'B' is 35.6% (37). Moreover, as much as 64.8% (85) respondents considered village 'A' to be underdeveloped, while 27.8% (29) respondents reported village 'B' to be underdeveloped.

5.4.2 Changes in the villages

Villages have undergone changes during last 15 to 20 years. These changes are multi cornered, i.e., the changes

could be seen in all aspects including social, economic and cultural ones. Some of the changes have been brought by government efforts and some are the outcomes of modernization process itself (diffusion, etc.). Still villages are far from any 'ideal'. The investigator was interested to find out the views of the sample respondents regarding changes in their villages. Following table shows the kinds of changes which in the opinion of respondents have taken place in their respective villages during last 15-20 years.

Table 5.8

Changes in the Villages as Perceived by the Respondents

Sl. No.	Changes in the villages	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Modernization and new agricultural techniques introduced	21	16.0	8	7.7	29	12.3
2.	Production has increased	34	25.9	27	26.0	61	25.9
3.	Roads have been constructed	36	27.5	27	26.0	63	26.8
4.	Education increased	12	9.2	8	7.7	20	8.5
5.	Electrification	11	8.4	1	1.0	12	5.1
6.	Overall situation has become better	37	28.2	21	20.1	58	24.7
7.	Elite have become more prosperous	22	16.8	15	14.4	37	15.7

contd.....

(Table 5.8 contd.....)

8.	Exploitation by elite has increased	5	3.8	7	6.7	12	5.1
9.	Overall condition has worsened	6	4.6	4	3.8	10	4.3
10.	No change: poor are still poor	53	40.5	34	32.7	87	37.0
Total*		237	180.9	152	146.1	389	165.4

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

Multiple responses were obtained on the question regarding perceived changes in the villages. Here, in the analysis only first three responses were considered, if more than three were reported; there were five respondents who did not respond to the question at all; there were 147 respondents who reported at least two changes in their respective villages; and there were 86 respondents who mentioned at least three changes in their villages. The table also shows that respondents of village 'A' mentioned more changes than the respondents of village 'B'; while the objective economic situation of the former was found to be worse than that of the latter. Objectively, there are more changes in village 'B' and the process of modernization is faster there in comparison to village 'A'. The reason behind these contrary findings may be

differences in reference points. Since village 'B' is closer to district Badaun, the residents of village 'B' frequently visit district head quarter. Therefore whenever they talked about changes in their village, they conceived the changes in comparison to city and found the changes too little in their own village, while the case is different in village 'A'. Village 'A' is quite far from district headquarter and residents of this village visit the city infrequently. Therefore, they compare their village not with city but with other surrounding villages and find a lot of changes in their own village. This is the reason why the population of village 'A' mentioned more changes (both positive and negative) in their village in comparison to village B. The table also shows that a large number of respondents (87) indicate that poor are still poor, there is hardly any significant improvement in their economic position. At the same time 66 respondents pointed out that today overall situation is better than it was earlier. So here we receive quite mixed kind of responses. Major changes in the villages mentioned by the respondents were, increased production, construction of pakka houses and pakka roads, introduction of modern agricultural techniques, education expansion, etc. There were some negative changes too. These changes were reported as increased exploitation by elite, increased party politics, expanding poverty, etc.

5.4.3 Indicators of development

The aim of the agricultural and rural development strategies is the growth with social justice, achievement of full-employment and removal of poverty. This may, however, be the definition given by elite and in practice, due to differences in structural positions and interests, different persons may have different perceptions and priorities of development. Here, an effort has been made to investigate the indicators of the development by the villagers themselves. Respondents were asked to mention the changes - which they would like to be incorporated in their villages to make it an 'ideal village'.

Following table shows such indicators of development as reported by the respondents during the survey. It shows that people differ markedly in their answers to perceived indicators of development of their respective villages. They report a large number of such indicators. Taken first three responses together, the four most important indicators are: pakka roads and good housing conditions, employment opportunities, drinking water facilities, and irrigation and better agricultural production. In a similar study, Sharma (1980) found educational facilities, electricity, medical facilities, and transports or roads as four most important indicators of development. This comparison shows that most of the people in different areas have almost same kind of perception regarding

indicators of development. Though the list of indicators of development appear to be similar in the two different rural populations, the ordering of these indicators in terms of their importance varies, which may partly reflect the socio-environmental differences in the two study areas.

Table 5.9

Indicators of Development

Sl. No.	Indicators of development	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Pakka roads and good housing conditions	115	87.8	82	78.9	197	83.8
2.	Employment opportunities	70	53.4	37	35.6	107	45.5
3.	Drinking water facilities	49	37.4	4	3.8	53	22.6
4.	School and education facilities	37	28.2	18	17.3	52	22.1
5.	Medical facilities	32	24.4	19	18.3	51	21.7
6.	Better Irriga- tional means and better agricultural production	44	33.6	6	5.8	50	21.3
7.	Provision of electricity	8	6.1	29	27.9	37	15.7
8.	Absence of poverty	9	6.9	27	25.9	36	15.3
9.	Others	6	4.6	17	16.3	23	9.8
Total*		370	282.4	239	229.7	606	257.8

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

5.4.4 Main problems of the villages

There are several obstacles in the path of development. These obstacles may be due to structural, psychological or economic factors — self created or external. In rural societies people encounter numerous problems in their day-to-day life. These problems hamper their personality development, and also effect total village development processes. Villagers were therefore asked about such problems which, they feel, are existing in their villages. Following table shows those problems as reported by respondents. Multiple responses were noted to the above question. Here also, first three responses were taken together. Table 5.10 shows that the most critical problem is 'muddy roads'. Both the villages have muddy roads and the problem becomes more acute during mansoon season. Houses become just unlinked to each other. One has to cross mud and long range of water to reach the other end. Stagnant water on the roads might cause infectious diseases and is too unhygienic to environment. It also completely stops the agricultural and business activities during rainy period. Efforts are being made to construct the roads. But what happens practically is that whatever money is received by village Pradhan for this purpose, is used for repairing, maintinance and construction of roads of his own locality and thus the other lanes remain 'as it is'.

Table 5.10

Major Problems of the Study Villages

Sl. No.	Major problems	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Muddy roads	117	89.3	76	73.0	193	82.1
2.	Lack of drinking water	58	44.3	32	30.7	90	38.3
3.	No transport facility	31	23.7	27	9.0	58	24.7
4.	Lack of electricity	10	7.6	26	25.0	36	15.3
5.	Medical problem	26	19.8	16	15.3	42	17.9
6.	Educational problems	11	8.4	8	7.7	19	8.0
7.	Scarcity of better agricultural means	27	20.6	8	7.7	35	14.9
8.	Population growth	4	3.1	3	2.9	7	2.9
9.	Employment problem	46	35.1	22	21.2	68	28.9
10.	Poverty/landlessness/inequality	25	19.1	23	22.1	48	20.4
11.	Corruption	5	3.8	3	2.9	8	3.4
12.	Party politics	-	-	6	5.8	6	2.6
13.	Others*	3	2.3	8	7.7	11	4.7
Total**		363	277.1	258	231.0	621	264.1

* Others include increased prices, lack of ration cards, sanitation problems, etc.

** Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

Table 5.10

Major Problems of the Study Villages

Sl. No.	Major problems	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Muddy roads	117	89.3	76	73.0	193	82.1
2.	Lack of drinking water	58	44.3	32	30.7	90	38.3
3.	No transport facility	31	23.7	27	9.0	58	24.7
4.	Lack of electricity	10	7.6	26	25.0	36	15.3
5.	Medical problem	26	19.8	16	15.3	42	17.9
6.	Educational problems	11	8.4	8	7.7	19	8.0
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Total **		363	277.1	258	231.0	621	264.1

* Others include increased prices, lack of ration cards, sanitation problems, etc.

** Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

There is a RES (Rural Engineering Services) department which has the responsibility to construct rural roads, but due to so many organizational and implementational problems - the actual work is often suffered. Second acute problem was lack of drinking water. As much as 38.3% (90) respondents considered it to be an acute problem. Government has started erecting hand-pumps and wells for drinking water purposes under IRDP, but still they are in shortage. A report on drinking water shows that under Sixth Five Year plan and revised 20points programme, 83% of 2.31 lack problem villages have been provided atleast one assured source of safe drinking water and rest of the villages will be covered during VIIth plan (Mathur; 1986: 17-18). It is difficult to say how far these figures are correct, but still drinking water remains an accute problem being faced by poor villagers. Lack of employment opportunities was the third major problem. Since educational level of residents of these villages was too low, service opportunities were not frequently open to villagers. Those who did not have sufficient land for agriculture were forced to do manual labour. Since big land holders are also very limited in the investigated villages, the workers, particularly landless, have to face unemployment problem. Other existing problems in the villages were: lack of electricity, educational opportunities, medical facilities,

and scarcity of agricultural/irrigational means, etc. Comparatively seen in both the villages, there were only marginal differences between the two over perceived problems: muddy roads, transport, educational inequality, poverty, etc. were alike problems in both the villages. But the respondents of both the villages differed markedly over employment problem, scarcity of better agricultural means and lack of drinking water facilities.

When asked about preferred means and solutions to the above indicated problems, multiple responses were received. Around 87% (200) respondents preferred government as best source to meet all the developmental requirements. Respondents were nevertheless not sure about the concrete steps which government should adopt to solve the above indicated problems. Table 5.11 shows respondents' views regarding what government could do to solve these problems. Majority of respondents were of the view that government is sovereign and can do everything. Since most of the problems need to be solved through finance only, 19.6% (46) respondents reported that government should provide more financial aids for village development. Some respondents were of the view that more loans should be distributed among poor. Some respondents felt that whatever schemes are made for the benefits of poor, do not really reach the target; intermediaries, particularly

Table 5.11

Suggestions to Eradicate Problems Through Government

Sl. No.	Suggestions	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Government is sovereign and can do every thing.	84	64.1	45	43.2	129	54.9
2.	Through financial aids	18	13.7	28	26.9	46	19.6
3.	Government can make efforts so that benefits should reach the target group only	16	12.2	13	12.5	29	12.3
4.	Government can put control over officers	15	11.4	6	6.8	21	8.9
5.	Through more distribution of loans	10	7.6	3	2.9	13	5.5
6.	Government can check corruption	5	3.8	7	6.7	12	5.1
7.	Government can help through village pradhan	1	0.8	9	8.6	10	4.3
8.	Government can't help the poor	1	0.8	3	2.9	4	1.7
9.	Others	3	2.3	2	1.9	5	2.1
Total*		153	116.7	116	111.4	269	114.4

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

'big men' of the village enjoy the fruits in-between and therefore government should make efforts in the direction that fruits of development reach the right persons directly. Around 68% (155) respondents preferred low-cost work-houses as best means to eradicate the problem of poverty and unemployment.

5.4.5 Awareness of Development schemes

Government of India has adopted several welfare schemes for rural areas. The IRDP, NREP, TRYSEM, DPAP, etc. are some of such schemes. These schemes, today, have been implemented in most of the villages of U.P. These schemes are aimed at benefiting the poor through economic, social and cultural aids. Government reports and statistical data show that development schemes have gained wide-spread popularity. Here the author was interested to find out the level of awareness of these development schemes among the respondents. It was found that 80.5% (190) respondents knew about at least one of the development schemes. This shows that development schemes are quite popular; but to go into further detail, author was also interested to find out the awareness regarding different schemes separately. Following table shows such awareness regarding different developmental schemes.

Table 5.12

Awareness of Developmental Schemes

Sl. No.	Awareness of schemes	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Loaning schemes	103	78.6	85	81.7	188	80.0
2.	Drinking water schemes	2	1.5	3	2.9	5	2.1
3.	Irrigation and agricultural schemes	27	20.6	21	20.2	48	20.4
4.	Electricity schemes	9	6.9	1	0.9	10	4.3
5.	Housing schemes	4	3.1	2	1.9	6	2.6
6.	Medical schemes	1	0.8	1	0.9	2	0.9
7.	Special schemes for scheduled castes	22	16.8	25	24.0	47	20.0
8.	Other schemes	4	3.1	5	4.8	9	3.8
Total *		172	131.4	143	137.3	315	134.1

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

The table shows that among all the schemes 'loaning schemes' have maximum popularity. Around 80% (188) respondents were

aware of loaning schemes. All those who were aware of any scheme were at least aware of loaning scheme. Loans are given under separate categories to all kinds of people and, therefore, most of them were acquainted with some or other scheme of loans. Moreover, several rural banks are being opened in each and every corner. Besides banks, blocks through VLO, etc., are also distributing loans for different purposes. The second well known development scheme was scheme for irrigation and agricultural modernization. These schemes include provisions for tubewell, pump sets and other irrigational means. Agricultural schemes include fertilizers, seeds and other agricultural inputs and modern agricultural equipments. 20.4% (48) respondents were aware of such kinds of schemes. Other known schemes among the villagers were special schemes for scheduled castes, electricity, housing, drinking water, etc. Comparatively seen in both the villages we find almost same kind of pattern of awareness. Less knowledge of other schemes (Table 5.12) may not be the true case. It may simply be due to the fact that the loaning schemes have been pursued more vigorously. If you ask a villager to name the schemes he knows, his spontaneous answer is 'loaning'. Moreover, other schemes are likely to benefit only well-to-do at least initially and the commoners do not bother about them.

When asked about their sources of information regarding these developmental schemes it was found that 59.5% (113) of those who had any information regarding developmental schemes were informed by government officials, particularly by VLO, ADO, etc. 17% (33) of them got such information through newspapers and radios. And rest of them received informations through their friends, relatives or elite of the village (Data analysed but not shown here).

5.5 Conclusion

The above description on village, villager and development is a brief sketch of the environment in which study was carried out. The general characteristics of the studied villages clearly indicate that these villages represent 'An Average Indian Village' - one being relatively underdeveloped - and the other with some signs of development. Sample respondents are heterogeneous groups. Since all of our respondents were 'working-heads', majority of them fall in the working age group. Both the villages are characterized by high percentage of illiteracy. Middle caste, particularly Mauryas, is numerically as well as economically dominant in both the villages. This caste is primarily agricultural caste. Therefore, they have ownership over large agricultural land. Two backward castes - 'Murao' and 'Mallahas' represent weakest communities of the villages. Their economic and

social conditions are worse than even scheduled caste.

As sociologists our major concern was to find out various kinds of problems being faced by common- villagers; development efforts in the desired directions and their impact and awareness among villagers. It is difficult to apply any objective criteria of development in village- settings, as due to differences in structural positions and interests different persons may have different perceptions and priorities of development. However, indicators of development are associated with the problems being faced by respondents. They look at the development- aspect from the perspective of problems and facilities not available to them. Since most of the infrastructural and allied problems are similar to common - villagers, we also find a more or less similar pattern in their perceptions of indicators and ideals of development.

There are of course few problems, like corruption, party-politics, elite exploitation which do not need development efforts as such, but rather structural, attitudinal and ideological changes. We may also find a contradiction between 'peoples problems' and 'government- reports'. Government proudly claims that 'we are exceeding our targets in providing infrastructural facilities like drinking water, electricity, etc.'. But people in rural areas pathatically

report them to be major problems and governments' indifference towards these problems. At the same time, respondents feel that Government is the only means to eradicate the problems. In spite of the long-efforts to bring more and more people's participation in the development process through CD, Panchayatraj, IRDP, etc. Villagers still largely depend upon government. It is a fact that the change over from an attitude of heavy dependence on government and outside agencies to one of self dependence comes about rather slowly. It is not easy to change people readily and rapidly. New ways of doing and thinking always create psychological insecurities among the people living near subsistence level. Then, "there is resistance from the conservative leaders of the community and custodians of the old ways of life, whose vested interests in leadership are threatened by the change" (Singh; 1986: 4-10). One of the major strategy behind the success of any development - scheme is the 'awareness' regarding that scheme among people at large. 'Loaning' through different agencies is most popular among rural mass. Since there are direct economic gains through loans and there are also various vested interests of government officials responsible for the operation of these schemes, we find that 'loaning-schemes' are the most popular scheme in the villages.

CHAPTER 6

COGNITIVE, BEHAVIOURAL AND IMPLEMENTATION ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENTAL SCHEMES

Introduction

Development in rural areas may be evaluated in terms of concrete development processes and their implementation. There are three main dimensions of development in villages: loaning, education, and health and family welfare. 'Loan-distribution' is considered as one major economic scheme for the development of rural poor. Several agencies through IRDP - and independently - are distributing loans for different purposes. The main focus of such efforts is to raise the economic status of rural population. 'Education' is considered as one of the most important aspect of human-resource development. The basic assumption behind educational programmes is that unless human capacities are developed, rapid economic and social growth cannot be achieved. Today the main thrust of development policy is to expand the education and to develop skills. Besides it, 'health and family planning' are other important dimensions of development process. Better health of population excellerates productivity and reduces wastage of life by improving mortality. Moreover, large population, malnutrition, high mortality, lack of capital, etc. are considered immediate serious problems before

developing countries like India which are supposedly rooted in their excessive population growth, they can be solved by having effective family planning programmes.

The above mentioned aspects of development, i.e., loans, education and health and family planning have been analysed in the present chapter. Efforts have been made to focus on practice, knowledge and attitude towards these development issues of the sample respondents. The chapter has been divided into three sections: Section I describes the loaning aspect; section II analyses the educational aspects; and the last section deals with health and family planning.

SECTION I

LOANS

6.1.1 Introduction

One of the important aims of the economic policy of India was the liquidation of rural indebtedness by stages and to provide institutional credit to farmers and artisans in rural areas. Several Regional Rural Banks (RRBs) and other sub-branches were opened in the interior and in isolated rural areas. The prime objective of these steps was to provide credit and other facilities, particularly to small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, artisans and small entrepreneurs, so as to develop agriculture, trade,

commerce, industry and other productive activities in the rural areas. The RRBs have 4813 branches at the end of March 1982. 4051 branches were opened in unbanked areas. The RRBs within a span of six-years, mobilized Rs.336 cr. by the end of Dec. 1981. The quantum of their gross-credit has gone up to Rs.406.59 crore at the end of Dec. 1981. Besides this, IRD programme has also been started in all the blocks since 1978. As described earlier, the main focus of this programme was on the economic upliftment of weaker communities. Different kinds of loans under different schemes are distributed through IRDP (Sundram and Datt; 1982).

The present section deals with the various aspects of loaning schemes as revealed by the analysis of the survey data. The main thrust of this analysis is on examining perceptivity and functions of the schemes under investigation. It is worthwhile to mention here that villages under investigation represent low-economy based villages. Majority of villagers belong to the category of landless and marginal farmers particularly. Our socio-cultural formation, particularly in rural setting, is such that a person needs to spend lot of money on different occasions since birth to death, like Mundan (hair-cutting), namkaran sanskar (giving name), marriage, child-birth, different religious functions, post-death ceremonies, etc. Today education of

of children, dowry and other conspicuous consumptions also increase this intermitant demand of wealth and, therefore, it was found that almost every respondent had taken financial assistance in the form of 'borrowing' through friends or other sources. However, our purpose was here to analyse those borrowings which are taken through government agencies only because it is only such loans which are intended to develop them by increasing their income generating potential. The first question, asked to the villagers was: 'Are you under government loans at present?' It was found that 16.5% (39) of the total respondents were under government loans at the time of investigation. The corresponding figures for the two villages - 'A' and 'B' - were 8.4% (11) and 26.9% (28) respectively. Further, there could have been few respondents who were not under loans at the time of investigation, but they might have taken loans in past and therefore the followed question asked was: 'Have you ever taken loan?' It was found that in all 23.4% (55) of the total respondents had ever taken any loan. The corresponding figures for the two villages - 'A' and 'B' - were 13.7% (18) and 35.6% (37) respectively.

The inter-village comparison in our sample shows that loaning schemes are more popular in village 'B'; total number of respondents benefited through loans are 37 in village 'B'

and only 18 in village 'A'. The reasons for this sharp difference between the two villages are that village 'B' is more developed, it is closer to district head quarter, more government and political officials visit this village as it is on road-side and nearer to the block office.

6.1.2 General characteristics of the loan-beneficiaries

In order to have a deeper analysis of loan-accepters, the loan users were cross-classified according to three background characteristics — caste, education and land. The results are shown in Table 6.1.1.

The general characteristics of loan-accepters show that maximum number of loans have been given to scheduled caste respondents. Since 50% subsidies in loans are given to scheduled caste people, they gladly accept the loans in comparison to others. Since villages are predominated by illiterate and landless agriculturalists, more loans have gone in their favour due to their large numerical strength. However, in terms of **ratios**, greater benefits have gone to scheduled caste and to educated persons. There is no such clear relation between benefit and land, rather there is a U-shape curve, big farmers and landless labourers have been benefited through loans more than the middle category of small farmers. χ^2 test shows that only caste-differences are significant; differences in use/non-use of family planning

methods of the different educational and landholding categories can simply be attributed to chance - or sampling fluctuations.

Table 6.1.1

General Characteristics of the Loan Beneficiaries

1. General characteristics	Present users		Present non-users		Total		Ever users		Ever non-users		Total	
	Num	Per	Num	Per	Num	Per	Numb	Per	Num	Per	Num	Per
	ber	cent	ber	cent	ber	cent	er	cent	ber	cent	ber	cent

• Caste

a) High caste	1	5.9	16	94.1	17	100	2	11.8	15	88.2	17	100
b) Middle caste	12	14.6	70	85.4	82	100	15	18.3	67	81.7	82	100
c) Low caste:												
(i) Non-SC	6	6.9	80	93.1	86	100	10	11.6	76	88.4	86	100
(ii) SC	20	40.0	30	60.0	50	100	28	56.0	22	44.0	50	100
Total	39	16.6	196	83.4	235	100	55	23.4	180	76.6	235	100

$$\chi^2 = 17.22^*$$

$$\chi^2 = 38.8^*$$

• Education

a) Illiterate	25	14.5	147	85.5	172	100	34	19.8	138	80.2	172	100
b) Upto middle	5	16.1	26	83.9	31	100	9	29.0	22	71.0	31	100
c) High school and above	9	28.1	23	71.9	32	100	12	37.5	20	62.5	32	100
Total	39	16.6	196	83.4	235	100	55	23.4	180	76.6	235	100

$$\chi^2 = 3.7$$

$$\chi^2 = 5.4$$

contd....

(Table 6.1.1 contd...)

B. Land Holders

(a) Landless labourers and other workers	19	18.8	82	81.2	101	100	25	24.8	76	75.2	101	100
(b) Marginal small farmers	12	13.3	78	86.7	90	100	16	17.8	74	82.2	90	100
(c) Farmers/ big farmers	8	18.2	36	81.8	44	100	14	31.8	30	68.2	44	100
Total	39	16.6	196	83.4	235	100	55	23.4	180	76.6	235	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.2$$

$$\chi^2 = 3.61$$

* Significant at 5% level.

5.1.3 Model-1

The above discussion shows the bivariate relationship between loan benefits, on one hand, and the structural position of the potential beneficiaries, on the other. In order to examine the partial relationship between these variables, in multivariate framework, we have developed a simple linear regression model of benefits. Ever use/non-use of loan-facilities is regressed against four structural variables which are age, education, caste and land holding. In notations:

$$B_1 = f(AG, ED, C, LH, OC) +$$

where,

B_1 = Ever use/non-use of loans

AG = Age

ED = Education

C = Caste

LH = Size of landholding

OC = Occupation

is error or residual term

Here ever use/non-use of loan variables is obviously binary; age is continuous, and education, caste and landholding are ordered categorical variables. The step-wise regression method has yielded the following equation (the standardized Beta coefficients are given in paranthesis):

$$B_1 = .8507 + .00349 AG + .1170 ED + .00480 C \\ \quad \quad \quad (.1023) \quad \quad (.4803) \quad \quad (.0211) \\ + .0273 LH - .0091 OC \\ \quad \quad \quad (-.1046) \quad (-.0523)$$

$$R^2 = .2328$$

The above equation reveals that the predictability of the model is not very high, that is, it reveals only 23% of the variability of ever use of loan. In other words there is no definite structural pattern of the benefits, provided the assumptions of variable analysis are not very strong.

However, in order of standardized Betas, the independent variables may be arranged in the following order:

Variables	Direction of Influence
1. Age	positive
2. Education	positive
3. Caste	positive
4. Land holding	negative
5. Occupation	negative

6.1.4 Aspects of loan distribution

Data were collected and analysed on different aspects of loans - distributed to 55 respondents in both the villages. The chart, attached here, shows different aspects of loans according to each loan-beneficiary. The chart gives us informations, like, year, purpose, amount, period, agency of loan taken, and the uses to which it was put.

Aspects of Loan-Distribution

Village 'A'

Sl. No.	Year	Purpose	Amount	Agency	Subsidy past of the loan	Period	Uses
1.	1971	Tubewell	7,000	LDB*	No	10 years	Tubewell erected
2.	1968	Tubewell	7,500	LDB	No	Not certain	Tubewell erected
3.	1976	Tubewell	4,000	LDB	No	Not certain	Tubewell erected
4.	1978	Tractor	20,000	LDB	No	5 years	Tractor was purchased
5.	1978	Sewing Machine	15,000	Block	No	3 years	Machine was purchased
6.	1979	Tractor	30,000	SBI	No	5 years	Tractor was purchased
7.	1980	Pumpset	6,000	PNB	No	Not certain	Pumpset was purchased
8.	1980	Pumpset	5,000	Block	1/3	Not certain	Pumpset was purchased
9.	1981	Tubewell	2,000	Block	No	Not certain	Tubewell was erected
10.	1982	Tubewell	5,000	LDB	No	Not certain	Not utilized for intended purpose
11.	1983	Dunlop	3,500	GVB	No	Not certain	Dunlop was purchased
12.	1983	Dunlop and bullocks	6,000	Block	50%	4 years	Dunlop was purchased
13.	1983	Dunlop and bullocks	6,000	Block	50%	4 years	Dunlop was purchased
14.	1983	Goats	1,600	Block	50%	Not certain	Goats were purchased
15.	1983	Cattles (buffalo)	3,000	Block	1/3	Not certain	Cattles were purchased

contd.....

16. 1984	Dunlop	3,100	KGB	No	3 years	Dunlop was purchased
17. 1984	Dunlop and bullocks	6,000	Block	No	Not certain	Dunlop was purchased
18. 1984	Tubewell	2,000	KGB	No	Not certain	Not utilized for intended purpose
<u>Village 'B'</u>						
19. 1970	Irrigation well	2,400	Block	No	10 years	Marriage of daughter
20. 1970	Agriculture	3,000	LDB	No	10 years	utilized in agriculture
21. 1971	Tubewell	5,000	BLDB	No	5 years	Tubewell erected
22. 1976	Pumpset	2,000	Block	No	Not certain	Pumpset was purchased
23. 1978	Tubewell	4,400	LDB	No	7 years	Tubewell erected
24. 1979	Rahat	4,000	LDB	No	5 years	Rahat was fitted
25. 1980	Tubewell	7,000	LDB	No	Not certain	Tubewell erected
26. 1980	Tractor	38,000	SBI	No	5 years	Tractor was purchased
27. 1980	Tubewell	5,000	Bank	No	Not certain	Tubewell erected
28. 1980	Irrigation	2,000	Block	No	Not certain	Money was wasted
29. 1980	Pumpset	2,000	LDB	No	Not certain	Pumpset was purchased
30. 1980	Irrigation	2,500	LDB	No	Not certain	Pumpset was purchased
31. 1980	Tractor	20,000	PNB	No	Not certain	Tractor was purchased
32. 1981	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	1 year	For the same purpose

contd.....

(Chart 6.1 contd....)

33. 1981	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	2 years	For the same purpose
34. 1982	For shop	2,400	Block	50%	Not certain	Shop was opened
35. 1982	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	2 years	For the same purpose
36. 1982	Buffalo	3,000	Block	50%	Not certain	Buffalow was purchased
37. 1982	Fertilizer	350	Block	No	1 year	Fertilizer was used
38. 1982	Cords	700	Block	1/3	Not certain	For the same purpose
39. 1983	Cords	500	Block	1/2	1 year	For the same purpose
40. 1983	Tubewell	5,000	LDB	No	Not certain	Tubewell was erected
41. 1983	For goats	1,600	PNB	No	3 years	Goats were purchased
42. 1983	Tanga, Horse	3,500	Block	1/2	3 years	Horse/Tanga was purchased
43. 1983	Irrigation well	5,000	LDB	No	2 years	Well was erected
44. 1983	Rahat	4,000	SBI	No	5 years	Not utilized for intended purpose
45. 1983	Pumpset	9,000	PNB	No	3 years	Pumpset was purchased
46. 1983	Horse	3,500	LDB	50%	Not certain	Horse was purchased
47. 1984	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	2 years	For the same purpose
48. 1984	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	2 years	For the same purpose
49. 1984	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	2 years	For the same purpose
50. 1984	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	2 years	For the same purpose

contd....

(Chart 6.1 contd.....)

51. 1984	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	2 years	For the same purpose
52. 1984	Cords	1,000	Block	50%	2 years	For the same purpose
53. 1984	House	2,000	Block	50%	3 years	House was constructed
54. 1984	Dunlop/Bullocks	3,500	Block	50%	2 years	Dunlop was purchased
55. 1984	Fertilizers	1,000	Block	No	2 years	Fertilizer purchased

* To be used in beds in rural areas.

It was found that maximum loans have been distributed during 1982-84. There are also few respondents who had received loans long back. This distribution shows that 'loans' are being distributed since a very long time, but its implementation got impetus only recently and practically after the implementation of IRDP.

Loans are given for different purposes; they have been distributed in the investigated villages generally for tubewells, dunlops, cattles, cords, pumpsets, etc. Most of the loans in the investigated villages have been given for tubewells and cords. These two kinds of loans show that loans are given not only for agricultural development but also for starting some small activity so as to acquire means of livelihood. Loans were also distributed for fertilizers, rahat (a traditional source of irrigation) etc. Big landholders also got loans; they get it generally for tractors.

The IRDP scheme provided loan upto the maximum limit of Rs.6,000 to an individual. The amount of loan depended on the purpose for which loan is being taken. Since fertilizers, etc. need small amount of money, it was found that 21.8% (12) of the total loan beneficiaries got loans upto Rs. 1,000/- only. 12.7% (7) of them got between 1,000/-to 2,000/-. There were 9% (6) respondents who got upto the maximum limit of IRDP loans i.e., 6,000/-. Nevertheless, 14.5% (8) of the total loans

beneficiaries got loans of more than 6,000/-, which shows that these beneficiaries are not marginal or landless labourers, rather: they are relatively big land holders as most of them took loans for tubewells or tractors. However, these big loans were given directly through nationalized banks and not under IRDP.

Subsidies of different kinds are given to the loan beneficiaries under IRDP. Scheduled caste get 50% subsidies, while other backward caste get 33.3% of the total amount as subsidy. It was found that 34.5% (19) beneficiaries got 50% subsidies, while 5.5% (3) got 33% subsidies.

The period for loan varies according to the kind of loan sanctioned. For example, tractors, tubewell, etc. fall in the category of long-term loans and that is why period for these kinds of loans vary usually from 4 to 10 years.

One important aspect of loaning scheme is 'how does one utilize the loan? Loan beneficiaries in the investigated villages were enquired about it too. 90.9% (50) of the total loan beneficiaries reported to utilize the loan for the intended purpose. However 9.1% (5) respondents were such who honestly confessed that they used loan money in some other purposes like in the marriages of their daughters, medical treatments or other crisis.

Further, the author was interested to find out refunding process of loans. It was found that 85.5% (47) of the total loan beneficiaries had either returned the loans in due time or were atleast determined to pay it back in time. There were about 15% (8) such cases too, who could not return the loans in time. The reasons behind this were either lack of sufficient money or unfavourable circumstances.

6.1.5 Problems involved in getting loans

Loaning schemes are gaining wide-spread popularity these days, but still there is a big gap between loan popularity and number of loan beneficiaries. Loaning facilities have been extended to far-reaching and interior areas, too. The distribution of loans involves a hierarchy of officials, non-officials, agents, etc. Their involvement at each level of distribution process increases the chances of harrassment and corruption. Loan-beneficiaries were, therefore, enquired if they had faced any problem in getting the loans. It was found that 63.5% (35) of them had not faced any problem. It was also felt, during the field-work, that some of those who reported not to have faced any problem, had infact absconded in giving the real information as they did not want to displease the powerful local elite or go between. However, 36.5% (20) consisting of 12 in village 'A' and 8 in village 'B' of the total loan beneficiaries reported different kinds of

problems associated with borrowing of money. These problems are presented in the following table. The respondents had choice to report multiple problems in this regard.

Table 6.1.2

Problems Involved in Getting Loans

Sl. No.	Problems	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Bribery	12	85.7	7	50.0	19	95.0
2.	Delay in getting loans	2	14.3	-	-	2	10.0
3.	Substandard material is provided	2	14.3	3	21.4	5	25.0
4.	Problems emerge in paying back the loan	1	7.1	5	35.7	6	30.0
	Total*	17	121.4	15	107.1	32	160.0
	Net beneficiaries who faced any kind of problem	12	60.0	8	22.9	20	36.4
	Beneficiaries who did not face any problem	8	40.0	27	77.1	35	63.6

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

The above table shows that problems faced by loan accepters are generally related to bribery, delay, distribution of substandard material and problems emerging in paying back the loan. The main problem was bribery and harrassment in this process. The nature and kind of problems can better be understood through following case-studies.

Case Study No.1

Sukhram is a scheduled caste resident of village 'A'. He is 55 years of age and is middle-pass. He was earlier in police service and now he is back to village and is engaged in agriculture.

Sukhram applied for bullock-cart loan under IRDP (50% subsidy) scheme. His loan for Rs.6,000/- was sanctioned in the year 1983. Since loan is supposed to be paid in kind and not in cash, he was asked to come over to nearby Nakhasa*. ADO, BDO, Doctor, VLO - in a team reached the Nakhasa on the same day. Husbandary doctor selected a pair of bullocks for the purchase. Sukhram who was practically experienced in the farming, objected the selection and suggested for some other bullocks, but no one gave ear to his advice and he was forced to accept the pair as was selected by block-team. The bullocks were actually purchased for 2200/- and receipt was issued for 3,000/-. Rest 800/- were eaten away by the authorities concerned.

* Nakhasa - Local rural market where animals are brought for sale.

Now for the purchase of 'Dunlop', a receipt was issued to Sukhram in the name of a particular dealer. The dealer charged the extra cost and material provided was also below standard. Sukhram had no choice, but to accept. Sukhram complained against these bad practices. He was told "since we are taking all these pains for you, we legitimately have some share. Moreover, since you are getting fifty percent subsidy, you will, even then, be in profit."

Sukhram feels that the procedure and scheme is not at all beneficial, because the dunlop purchased was made of very rough stuff and hence, it was soon destroyed and secondly, about half of the much subsidy reached the pockets of concerned intermediaries.

The above case indicates that the main problem in the distribution of loans is corruption at each level. Government officials and other concerned persons are part of it. This corruption is prevalent in the form of bribes, extra-charges of assets and supply of rough and below-standard materials.

Case Study No.2

Raghunath Singh a resident of village 'A', is 36 years old. He belongs to scheduled caste and has 25 bighas of land. Reghunath felt the need of tubewell for his fields, as the available irrigation facilities were not adequate. He applied for loan in land Development Bank of district Badaun.

Rs. 7500/- were sanctioned for the tubewell. Around one year after the sanction, a cheque of Rs.2100/- was issued in the name of a particular tubewell Boring Agency - for erecting the tubewell in Raghunath's field. The boring was done. Then after one more year a cheque of Rs.5,400/- was issued in the name of a particular engine dealer for the purchase of tubewell engine. Since the cheque was issued only for a particular shop, the dealer charged extra price for the engine. Raghunath suspects some pre-fixed commission between government officials and the engine dealer. The price charged for engine was 4,600/- and other parts were purchased for rest of the money. Tubewell thus finally started functioning. It worked for one year only and then it had to be closed down due to family disputes.

Now, the main problem which Raghunath had to face was during the processes in paying back the loan. The first installment, which he had to deposit in bank, was of Rs.315/-, then onwards he had to deposit more or less the same amount twice in a year. He could not deposit few installments in time due to some problems. The last payment, he had to deposit, therefore, was of Rs.8,500/-.

Raghunath had to pay Rs. 22,000/- in all for Rs. 7,500/- which he had initially borrowed. The rate of interest was initially 11%, but it kept on increasing, as he could not

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deposit some installments in time. Obviously the total paid amount of Rs.22,000/- was more than any calculation. Raghunath took up his case to higher authorities, but no satisfactory explanation was given to him. One bank official even suggested him if he was prepared to spend some money on officials - his problem could be tackled. But nothing worked and Raghunath ultimately had to sell his land to get rid of loans and today he is almost ruined due to the loan taken.

Raghunath's case is not general, but it has been presented to show that due to ignorance of the potential beneficiaries and bureaucratic hurdles, the beneficiaries may sometimes undergo tremendous difficulties in the processes of borrowing and refunding.

Loans, in rural areas, are distributed through various agencies. Many governmental and non-governmental agencies are operating in rural areas for this purpose. Villager's choice for a particular agency helps us to understand some hidden implications. Following table shows the distribution of respondents according to preferred source of loaning.

Table 6.1.3

Preferred Source of Accepting Loans

Sl. No.	Source	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Government agency	39	29.8	41	39.4	80	34.0
2.	Non-government agency	3	2.3	9	8.7	12	5.2
3.	Nationalized banks	11	8.4	10	9.6	21	8.9
4.	Co-operative banks	7	5.3	10	9.6	17	7.2
5.	Mahajans	13	9.9	10	9.6	23	9.8
6.	Friends/ relatives	11	8.4	7	6.7	18	7.7
7.	From anywhere available	20	15.3	3	2.9	23	9.8
8.	From nowhere	27	20.6	14	13.5	41	17.4
	Total	131	100.0	104	100.0	235	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 87.02^*$$

* Significant at 5% level.

The above table shows that the most preferred source of accepting loan was any governmental agency. 34% of total (80)

respondents were in favour of any governmental agency. The reasons behind this favour were: less and fixed rate of interest in loans through governmental agencies, provision of different kinds of subsidies for different categories of farmers, and facilities for long term loans. 9.8% (23) respondents were willing to accept the loan through any source. Money from village money lenders is easily available and they can be approached easily at the time of some crisis, though they charge higher rate of interest and terms are not good 9.8% (23) respondents preferred professional village money lenders as best source of taking the loan. Besides this, 13.6% (32) persons were such, who were not at all in favour of taking any loan from anywhere. These responses indicate that villagers prefer to take loan through government agencies, but due to sudden need and easy accessibility, they approach local money-lenders for loans.

6.1.6 Reasons for favouring loaning schemes

People aspire for getting loans only in some need or urgency. There are still persons, who consider loan as curse and will prefer to starve than to accept the loan. Some people avoid botherations and, therefore, do not accept the loans. To know the general attitude towards loan, some questions were asked. It was found that only 59.6% (140) respondents were in favour of accepting loans, if the

situation demands. Even among them 18 respondents have some apprehensions about loans; they can accept loans provided they don't have to bribe the concerned officials and/or no security is required. When probed further why they were in favour of loans, - multiple responses were received which are shown in the following table.

Table 6.1.4

Reasons for Favouring Loans

Sl. No.	Reasons	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Urgency	37	52.1	39	56.5	76	54.2
2.	Other circumsta- nces (economic)	4	5.6	7	10.2	11	7.9
3.	To start some productive work	12	16.9	14	20.2	26	18.6
4.	To remove poverty	3	4.2	6	8.8	9	6.5
5.	Conditional acceptance to improve their economic status:						
	(a) If granted without bribes	12	16.9	2	2.9	14	10.0
	(b) If granted without prior security	3	4.3	1	1.4	4	2.8
Total number of respondents in favour of loans		71	100.00	69	100.00	140	100.00

The above table shows that 54.2% (76) respondents were in favour of loans to meet some urgent need. Others who favoured the loans gave reasons like economic circumstances, to remove poverty and for starting some new productive work.

There is marked difference over the choice for taking loans in village 'A' and village 'B'. It was found that 45.8% (60) respondents of village 'A' were not at all in favour of taking loans, while the corresponding figure for village 'B' is 33.6% (35) only. The reason behind this difference might be that there were more problems in getting the loans in village 'A' than in 'B'.

The respondents who were not in favour of loans were further enquired as why they were not in favour of loan acceptance. Multiple responses were received on this question too. First two responses are taken together here which are shown in Table 6.1.5.

The table shows that a majority of non-favouring respondents were not willing to accept loans due to the difficulties arising in paying back the loans. 38.9% (37) of such respondents also did not have favourable attitude towards loan, as they thought it to be a constant source of tension. Other reasons were: poor do not possess sufficient security, necessary for getting the loans, high rate of interest, and poor do not get the loan as rich are

already there to grab such benefits.

Table 6.1.5

Reasons for not Favouring the Loaning Schemes

Sl. No.	Reasons	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Difficult to pay back	26	43.3	13	37.1	39	41.1
2.	Constant source of tension	21	35.0	16	45.7	37	38.9
3.	High rate of interest	1	1.7	3	8.6	4	4.2
4.	Lack of security	11	18.3	5	14.3	16	16.8
5.	Poor do not get loan	5	8.3	1	2.9	6	6.3
6.	Others	1	1.7	1	2.9	2	2.1
	Total number of responses of those not in favour of loans*	65	108.3	39	111.5	104	109.4
	Net respondents not in favour of loans	60	63.16	35	36.84	95	100
	Total number of respondents in favour of loans	71	50.7	69	49.8	140	100

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

6.1.7 Discussion

The analysis of data on 'loan-schemes' gives us some valuable information regarding their working, and involved implications and thus help us to understand the general patterns behind it. 'Loans' to poor people, and weaker sections in particular, are generally distributed through IRDP. There is a fixed amount to be distributed under IRDP for different kinds of schemes. Targets are also pre-fixed separately for each category of villagers. The data show that only a limited section of sample population is benefited through loans and majority of these beneficiaries belong to scheduled caste community. Primarily, it is the mercy of VLO, contacts with officials, interaction with village elite and one's own capacity to give bribes that count in getting the loans - and not the suitability or legitimacy of the proposed scheme. In an informal interview with the concerned BDO, it was noted that loans for different items like dunlops, bullocks, pigs, cattelling and house-hold industries are given under IRDP. Subsidy ranging one third to half is also provided; but practically all these schemes are not functioning properly. There are lapses in formulation as well as in the implementation of these schemes. Bad practices are prevalent at each stage. These practices exist in the identification of beneficiary, in the sanctioning

process, in purchasing of items, as well as in refunding of the loans. Whole involved governmental and non-governmental machinery is part of it. Not only this, beneficiaries too are responsible for mal-functioning of the loaning schemes. They lack sufficient knowledge to utilize the loans, in proper ways. They sometimes misuse the loans by selling off their borrowed items.

Since, there is no established and quantitative basis for assessing one's economic status in rural sectors, as most of their income is non-monitized, the identification of beneficiary is sometimes wrong. The most general criterion used for identification of beneficiary is the size of land-holding, but this in itself is not a proper-procedure: (a) a person with five-bighas of land can produce more than a person with ten bighas of land — production depends on so many factors like irrigation facilities, kind of land, marketing facilities, utilization of HVY seeds, etc; and (b) production also varies seasonally.

Special committees for the proper identification of beneficiaries were formed in district Badaun but these committees could not function properly under the existing social structure. The Project Director of IRDP reported that the problems are deep-rooted in our social structure itself. Ours is still a traditional society. People are bound by customs, traditions and thrown responsibilities.

'Marrying-off the daughter' is considered more important than buying buffallow or purchasing pumpset and therefore, a poor farmer will definitely prefer to spend the loan money or loan material in fulfilling his social and moral responsibilities than to raising his economic status. Here lies the fact 'why financing the poor is not sufficient to raise their economic status'.

One more acute problem which is frequently encountered is the 'lack of will to work'. No scheme can run properly, unless there is a will to work- a will to become prosperous and a will to march forward or what psychologists call 'need for achievement'. Today a common villager is too much dependent upon government assistance and looks towards government even for smaller works. This has several dysfunctions. One major micro dysfunction of special facilities given to scheduled caste communities, could be seen in the form of hostile attitude of elite class towards scheduled caste community. Elite treat them (SC) as sarkari damaad (son-in-law). For example, in village 'B', the members of scheduled caste community pathetically reported that high caste big landholders recently stopped giving them employment in their fields. Whenever any person of the scheduled caste community went to them in search for employment, they clearly told: "Go and ask your Government for employment, why have you come to us?"

We can thus conclude that loaning facilities for rural people, particularly to weaker sections have multiple effects. These schemes are beneficial in principle; but due to existing circumstances and some structural factors, the schemes are not giving the satisfactory results. Today, people ordinarily are restraining themselves from taking loan and those under it want to get rid as soon as possible. Overhauling of these schemes in the light of practical difficulties and mal-practices is an urgent need. Beneficiaries are needed to be better acquainted with the given facilities and should possess sufficient knowledge of using these facilities.

SECTION II

EDUCATION

6.2.1 Introduction

Education is one of the most important parameter of development. It has been accepted as a significant instrument of planned social development. The report of the Education-Commission (1964-65) states in the very first sentence that, "the destiny of India is now being shaped in her class rooms". Accordingly, there has been a phenomenal growth in the field of education since independence. Number of schools have tremendously increased; lots of facilities, particularly to weaker communities, are being provided. But still literacy

level is too low, more so in rural sectors. The distribution of educational facilities between rural and urban areas is grossly uneven. There is an excessive concentration of higher and professional institutions and also better equipped schools of all grades in cities; it seems our education system is silently urban biased. It is a well established fact now that education and development are positively and strongly correlated and this is the reason why government of India is making its full efforts to raise the level of literacy and also to raise the level of practical education. National literacy rate at present is 36.23% (Census of India; 1981), which is certainly low, even from the standards of moderately developed Asian countries. Here an attempt is made to find out the respondents' perception and use of education and their attitude towards it. Government's efforts in the direction of improving the education are also considered.

6.2.2 Literacy according to general characteristics of respondents

First of all, the literacy level of the respondents was cross-classified by background variables, e.g., caste, landholding and occupation. The basic objective of this exercise was to find out the pattern of education among different social categories. Following table shows the emerging patterns.

Table 6.2.1

Literacy and Education According to Caste, Landholding and Occupation

Sl. No.	Character-istics	Illiterate		Upto Middle		High schools and above		Total	
		Numb-ers	Perce-ntage	Numb-ers	Perce-ntage	Numb-ers	Perce-ntage	Numb-ers	Perce-ntage
1. <u>Caste</u>									
(a)	High caste	5	29.4	3	17.6	9	53.0	17	100
(b)	Middle caste	50	61.0	16	19.5	16	19.5	82	100
(c)	Low caste:								
(i)	Non-SC	75	87.2	7	8.1	4	4.7	86	100
(ii)	SC	42	84.0	5	10.0	3	6.0	50	100
	Total	172	73.2	31	13.2	32	13.6	235	100

$$\chi^2 = 43.06^*$$

2. Land Holdings

(a)	Landless	90	89.1	8	7.9	3	3.0	101	100
(b)	Marginal farmers	41	85.4	7	14.6	-	-	48	100
(c)	Small farmers	26	61.9	7	16.7	9	21.4	42	100
(d)	Average farmers and big farmers	15	34.1	9	20.5	20	45.4	44	100
	Total	172	73.2	31	13.2	32	13.6	235	100

$$\chi^2 = 69.28^*$$

contd....

(Table 6.2.1 contd...)

3. Occupation

(a) Owner culti- vator	47	54.7	15	17.4	24	27.9	86	100
(b) Cultivator/ agricultural/ labour	59	86.8	7	10.3	2	2.9	68	100
(c) Landless labourers	57	93.4	4	6.6	-	-	61	100
(d) Artisans/ service/ business/ others	9	45.0	5	25.0	6	30.0	20	100
Total	172	73.2	31	13.2	32	13.6	235	100

$$\chi^2 = 61.05*$$

* Significant at 5% level.

The table points out that majority of the respondents who are educated upto high school and above fall in the categories of middle caste, average farmers and big farmers, and owner cultivators. And majority of illiterate respondents fall in the categories of low-caste and landless labourers. It can also be deducted from the above table that one's economic status is one of the chief determinants of literacy level. Classification of scheduled caste respondents according to their educational achievement shows that as many as 84% (42) of the scheduled caste respondents were illiterates.

Scheduled caste people are economically deprived, socially backward and culturally poor, these are the few factors which hamper their educational attainment.

6.2.3 Comparison between school going age and school attending children

Comparison of number of school-going-age children with number of children-actually-attending the schools can give us an account of literacy expansion in the sample villages. And, the comparison between the school enrollments of boys and girls separately helps us to know the attitude of rural people towards education of boys and girls separately. Keeping these objectives in mind, data were collected as to find out the number of school-going-age children and the actual number of those who are actually going to schools. The figures thus obtained are presented in table 6.2.2.

Table 6.2.2 shows that there are 428 children in all who are of school going-age. Boys and girls constitute 66.8% (286) and 33.2% (142) respectively. The figures indicate that only 47.8% (205) children are actually attending the schools. Only 58% (166) of the boys and 27.5% (39) of the girls are actually going to schools. This shows that 52.2% (223) of children are such who are of school going age, but are not going to schools. The trend also helps us to understand that the percentage of girls not attending the schools is much higher than the corresponding percentage for boys.

Table 6.2.2

Number of School Going Age-Children and Number of School
Attending Children

Sl. No.		Number of school going age children			Number of children attend- ing schools			Number of children not attending schools		
		Vill. A	Vill. B	Total	Vill. A	Vill. B	Total	Vill. A	Vill. B	Total
1. Boys	Number	174	112	286	97	69	166	77	43	120
	Perce- ntage	100	100	100	55.7	61.6	58.0	44.3	38.4	42.0
2. Girls	Number	82	60	142	21	18	39	61	42	103
	Perce- ntage	100	100	100	25.6	30.0	27.5	74.4	70.0	72.5
Total	Number	256	172	428	118	87	205	138	85	223
	Perce- ntage	100	100	100	46.1	50.6	47.8	53.9	49.4	52.1

$$Z (\text{Sex}) = 5.96^*$$

$$Z (\text{Village}) = - .91$$

* Significant at 5% level - one tail test.

Number of school-going-age children and number of children actually attending the schools were further classified according to background variables. The objective of this exercise was to find out the ratio of school going children belonging to different categories of education, caste and landholding,

separately for boys and girls. These data are shown in the following table.

Table 6.2.3

Number of School Going Children According to Father's Education, Caste and Landholding

Sl. Structural No. factors	No. of school going- age boys	No. of school going boys	Perce- ntage	No. of school going- age girls	No. of school going girls	Perce- ntage
<u>1. Father's Education</u>						
(a) Illiterate	205	104	50.7	92	18	19.6
(b) Upto Middle	40	28	70.0	26	9	34.6
(c) High School and above	41	34	82.9	24	12	50.0
Total	286	166	58.0	142	39	27.5
χ^2 (Between education and school going status) = 20.96*						
<u>2. Father's Caste</u>						
(a) High caste	46	32	69.6	19	8	42.1
(b) Middle caste	97	60	61.9	33	12	36.4
(c) Low caste:						
(i) Non-SC	97	51	52.6	62	12	19.4
(ii) SC	46	23	50.0	28	7	25.0
Total	286	166	58.0	142	39	27.5
χ^2 (Between caste and school going status) = 13.82*						

contd....

(Table 6.2.3 contd.....)

3. Father's
Land-Holding

(a) Landless labourers	110	45	40.9	65	12	18.5
(b) Marginal farmers	55	30	54.5	25	6	24.0
(c) Small farmers	63	41	65.1	25	8	32.0
(d) Average and big farmers	58	50	86.2	27	13	48.1
Total	286	166	58.0	142	39	27.5

$$\chi^2 \text{ (Between landholding category and school going status) } = 42.08^*$$

* Significant at 5% level.

The above table indicates that education, caste and landholding are positively associated with school attending children, i.e., more number of children whose parents belong to higher crust of society, in terms of education, caste and landholding, attend schools. It is also seen that in all, and also for each socio-economic category separately, school enrollment percentages among boys are higher than among girls, which reflects the material and attitudinal bases of village education. The table implies that the development has benefited only the upper stratum of village society. There is

where,

B_2 = Number of school going boys

B_3 = Number of school going girls

AG = Age

ED = Education

C = Caste

LH = Land holding

HS = Household size

ϵ_1 and ϵ_2 are error or residual terms

Here number of school going boys, number of school going girls, age and household size are continuous and education, caste and landholding are categorical variables. The step-wise-regression method has yielded the following equations* (the standard Beta coefficients are given in paranthesis):

$$B_2 = -0.4839 + .0107 \text{ AG} + .1195 \text{ ED} + .0088 \text{ C} \\ (.2183) \quad (.3396) \quad (.0270) \\ + .1207 \text{ LH} + .03579 \text{ HS} \\ (.3202) \quad (.3202)$$

$$R^2 = .2304 \quad (i)$$

$$B_3 = .4044 - .0076 \text{ AG} + .0108 \text{ ED} - .0162 \text{ C} \\ (-.1651) \quad (.0331) \quad (-.0529) \\ + .1302 \text{ LH} - .0070 \text{ HS} \\ (.3698) \quad (.0299)$$

$$R^2 = .2580 \quad (ii)$$

* Those respondents who do not have any child, have been excluded from this analysis.

The equation (i) reveals that the predictability of the model is not very high as it explains only 23% of the variability of school going boys. In other words there is no definite structural pattern of the educational benefit, provided the assumptions of variable analysis are not very strong. However, in order of standardized Betas, the independent variable may be arranged in the following order:

	Variable	Direction of Influence
(1)	Age	Positive
(2)	Education	Positive
(3)	Caste	Positive
(4)	Landholding	Positive
(5)	Household size	Positive

The equation (ii) also reveals that the predictability of the model is not very high as it explains 25% of the variability of the school going girls. In other words, here too, no structural pattern behind number of school going girls is found. However, the standardized Beta- coefficients help us to understand the direction of influences of independent variables upon dependent variable, which can be presented in the following order.

	Variables	Direction of Influence
(1)	Age	Positive
(2)	Education	Positive

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------|
| (3) | Caste | Negative |
| (4) | Landholding size | Positive |
| (5) | Household size | Negative |

6.2.5 Reasons for low-enrollment in schools

The reasons for low enrollments in schools may be of varied nature. The author was interested to find out such reasons and therefore respondents were asked to mention the factors which in their opinion are creating hinderances in the way of providing education to children.

Table 6.2.4

Reasons for Low-enrollments in Schools

Sl. No.	Reasons	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Poverty	99	75.6	86	82.7	185	78.7
2.	Family Circumstances	43	32.8	23	22.1	66	28.1
3.	Lack of educational facilities in the villages	21	16.0	3	2.9	24	10.2
4.	Shortage/ absence of teachers in schools	17	12.9	7	6.7	24	10.2
5.	Children's help in work	7	5.3	11	10.6	18	7.7
6.	Unwillingness among children	10	7.6	2	1.9	12	5.1
7.	Other reasons	2	1.5	1	1.0	3	1.3
	Total*	199	151.7	133	127.9	332	141.3

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

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Respondents were asked to give at least two responses. Taken them together, it was found that the most important reason behind not sending the children to school was 'poverty' as much as 79.1% (185) respondents reported it as a (first or second) reason for not sending their children to schools. The other main important reason was family-circumstances. Family circumstances include the inability of parents to send their children to schools due to demand of work at home and in the fields, large family size, or family traditions. A significant percentage of respondents (22.5%) reported it as the main cause for not sending their children to schools. Other important reasons were, unwillingness among children, lack of proper educational arrangements, lack of teachers in schools, children's help in work etc. It was also observed during field work that schools of the investigated villages were functioning inefficiently. Attendance of both teachers and students was too low, building was not in good condition. Ministry of education (1985) in one of its reports states that 'the schools where majority of children study, whether in towns or in rural areas are far poorer in facilities, qualities and relevance of education. That is one of the reasons why the dropout rates in these schools are staggeringly higher than in the schools for the elite'. Children of elite were enjoying special privileges.

They need not to come regularly to schools and they still get good marks in exams due to their parental status.

Inspite of the above indicated problems and hurdles in way of getting education, it was found that if self-motivation towards education is high, one can get the circumstances turned into one's favour and can pursue the education. One such case of village 'A' is reported here.

Case study

Jwala Prasad belongs to a well-to-do agricultural family of village 'A'. His parents and other family members were not educated and they never intended to send him to school. As Jwala grew old, he was asked to look after the family animals during the day. As he moved out of the home, he saw the children of his peer groups going to school and there he developed a keen desire for attending the schools. Jwala and his friends, who kept the animals during the day, generally stopped those school going children on their way to schools and insisted them to tell, what they used to learn in schools, and thus he became familiar with the numbers, alphabets, etc. Jwala's interest developed and one day he accompanied those boys to their school even without informing his parents. The school teacher welcomed him and thereafter he started attending the school regularly, but soon his parents suspected and asked the reasons for his

late coming to home. Jwala Prasad narrated the facts and thus, seeing his keen interest in studies, his parents had to bow and Jwala continued his studies. Jwala joined the college after clearing off the village education. His college was around 8 km. from his village (through short route) and he had to go and come back daily on bare foots. Atlast his hard work, patience and devotion brought fruits to him, when he secured first division both in High-school and Intermediate. Since there was no degree-college in district Badaun at that time, he had to drop the idea of further higher studies, as his parents were not at all ready to send him too far from the home due to agricultural work at home. Jwala now started searching for job and soon got clerical job in block office. Today he is 'head-clerk' in the same office earning Rs.800/- per month, besides this, he also does his agricultural work. He has high motivations towards providing education to his children. Today he is considered village-elite. He is considered elite not only due to his education but also due to his economic status.

The above case sights an example of high-motivation. It shows if self motivation towards getting education is high, factors like family circumstances, poverty, shortage of means, etc. have insignificant effect and one can get through these hurdles.

6.2.6 Preferred level and actual capacity to give education

It was found that today most of the people acknowledge the value of education. Thus as many as 90% (210) respondents were in favour of giving education to their children. Though government has already made the provisions to provide free education upto the age of 14, still there are many factors which create obstacles in the education development. Author was here interested to find out the differences between preferred standard of education and actual capacity to provide education to children. To understand such differences respondents were asked to mention their preferred level of providing education to their children. The question was followed by other question about their capacity (resources) to educate their children. Following table shows such differences.

Table 6.2.5

Preferred Level and Actual Capacity to Give Education

Sl. No.	Level of education	Preferred level		Actual capacity	
		Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage
1.	Upto Primary	4	1.7	6	2.5
2.	Upto Middle	15	6.4	17	7.2
3.	Upto Intermediate	17	7.2	18	7.7
4.	Upto highest level	77	32.8	24	10.2
5.	As much as they want	47	20.0	42	17.9
6.	Upto the level we can afford	24	10.2	56	23.8
7.	Cannot educate due to poverty	32	13.6	53	22.6
8.	No Idea	19	8.1	19	8.1
Total		235	100.0	235	100.0

The results, thus obtained, show sharp differences between preferred standard and actual capacity to educate. 32.8% (77) respondents preferred to educate their children upto the highest level. In addition, there are 10.2% (24) respondents who want to provide maximum education to their children, however, subject to their resource constraints. With regard to their capacity to educate children, 23.8% (56) respondents are uncertain. There are 20% (40) respondents who may like to give highest possible education to their children. But they are conscious of environmental and personality risks - they report that they will provide educational facilities upto the level their children would like and prove capable to reach; for 17.9% (42), there is no resource consideration in providing education to their children and they feel capable of providing highest education to their children. There are 22.6% (55) respondents who lack resource capacity to educate their children, which shows that there are many respondents who had desire to educate their children, but had no capacity to educate. Further, there are 15.3% (36) respondents for whom preferred educational level to their children is less than or upto intermediate. This shows that the majority of villagers have very high preferences for education to their children. It seems true that even those who belong to the category of

preferred level of less than or upto intermediate may attach high value to advanced education, but they report so just because they are more conscious of personal, environmental and structural problems. Nevertheless, the above discussion pertains chiefly to sons and most of villagers do not value daughter's education, specially above primary level highly. There are good reasons for this; (1) absence of educational facilities in the village itself — it is not considered proper to send young unmarried girls for educational purposes to outside villages and towns; (2) low age at marriage; (3) the daughters are considered to belong to parental family only upto the time of marriage, after that they acquire membership of their husband's family and at husband's house she is considered ideal only as house-wife; and (5) absence of female activities other than home making.

6.2.7 Expected benefits through education

Getting education is one thing and how does one makes use of it is another thing. Education provides not only better chances to live in the society, but it also helps in developing one's inner qualities and personality. Untill or unless a common man realizes the usefulness of education, mere getting the formal education will not serve the purpose. As has already been pointed out around 90% of the respondents were in favour of education. Now the author asked why do they want

to educate their children, in other words, what benefits do they expect out of providing education to their children? Respondents were asked to point out the benefits of giving education to their children. Following table shows such reported benefits of education.

Table 6.2.6

Expected Benefits Through Education

Sl. No.	Benefits	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Development of consciousness and power of reasoning	43	32.8	43	41.3	86	36.6
2.	Better employment opportunities	58	44.3	40	38.5	98	41.7
3.	Contribution in modernization and agricultural development	9	6.9	3	2.9	12	5.1
4.	Not certain	1	0.8	2	1.9	3	1.3
5.	Others	7	5.3	3	2.9	10	4.3
6.	No benefit expected	29	22.1	28	26.9	57	24.2
Total*		147	112.2	119	114.4	266	113.2

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

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Multiple responses were received on benefits of education; first two responses are taken together here. It was found that the first benefit which respondents expected out of education was, the better employment opportunities. They feel that education increases the prospects of job, particularly of government jobs. In village society, getting a government job is considered very prestigious and therefore the primary idea behind giving education to children is brightening their chances for getting government jobs. Second benefit is the development of one's consciousness and power of reasoning. Villagers feel that now time is changed. One needs to be alert, aware and conscious at every place and that is possible only when one is literate. Whether it is market, bank, block or hospital, an illiterate person can easily be fooled, therefore in the changing society, one needs to be practical and critical to be capable of standing and competing in this society, which is possible only through education. Nevertheless, villagers also feel that mere education is not sufficient today. Many factors like pulls, contacts and bribery, etc. have important roles to play in getting employment and therefore 24.2% (57) respondents did not expect any benefit out of education. Further there were as many as 63.4% (149) respondents who could not mention more than one benefit. Thus findings show that education can

spread only when the members of village community realize that there are some highly desirable results of educational achievement which will accrue to them in high probability. Unless people realise the purpose of education itself, mere providing the education is not useful.

Facilities of different kinds have been provided by the government for the education expansion in rural sectors. These facilities include fee concessions, scholarships, clothes, book-aids, etc. But these facilities are not easily available to all. Since the government is giving special privileges to scheduled caste community, the poor children belonging to other communities are not generally getting available facilities. Within the scheduled-caste community also, the chances of getting facilities like scholarships, book-aids, fee concessions at higher school level are not equal and fair. Felt needs, awareness, efforts, personal contacts and dominant position often help in getting such benefits and that is why it was found that even within SC community, children belonging to relatively poorer economic background were deprived of available facilities, while others - already better off - were enjoying these facilities. Getting the scholarships and other financial assistance has been one attractive incentive in the rural area. More importance is being given by these people to scholarships

than to actual education.

It is known that inspite of the efforts in the direction of making equal provisions of education to both rich and poor, education and specially higher education is considered the privilege of the limited rich section of society. Respondents were, too, asked whether in their opinion rich and poor people of the investigated villages have equal opportunity of getting education or not. It was found that 80.5% (190) respondents were of the view that opportunity of getting education for rich and poor was not equal. Rich people can afford higher education, while poor can not. Poor people send their children for wages since childhood. On the other hand rich people can not only send their children to schools but they can also engage private tutors for better education. These economic differences not only effect the equal opportunity of education, but also effect educational and skill achievement.

6.2.8 Adult education programme

Adult Education programme is not in good progress in both the villages. One centre for adult-education was started in village 'A' long back. A high school passed resident of the village was engaged as teacher in that centre for 50/- per month. The school was operated in nights. It could function merely for few months and soon

interest among those who attended the school was decreased and finally it was closed down without any fruitful result. There was no adult education beneficiary in village 'B'.

District Adult Education Officer (DAEO) was approached to throw some light on the present situation of adult education programme in the district. The DAEO started with the statement that there is a big gap between theory and practice. He agreed that whatever figures are shown in reports are not infact actualised. Describing the history of Adult Education Programme in India, he told that this programme was a new phenomena, which was implemented only in 1980. The programme was implemented in district Badaun too in 1980. The first project was taken in two tehsils of the district Sahaswan and Dehgawan.

Explaining the structure of the programme project, he told, 'on the top of the project is project-officer. Next to him is Assistant Project Officer. Then, there are 10 supervisors over 300 centres. Thus, each supervisor looks after 30 centres. Instructors are chosen from the centre-village only. They are paid Rs.50/- per month as honourarium! He mentioned that at the time of investigation there were 200 male centres and 100 female centres at work. Emphasis is laid down on females and SC/ST. Timings for the classes are generally 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. for females and

8 p.m. to 10 p.m. for males. Timings can be changed according to the convenience of villagers. Evaluation of these centres is done by DAEO after every two months. Instructors are given training at schools in Badaun. Any individual between the age-group 15-23 can attend the classes.

Critically examining the programme, the DAEO explained that scheme in itself is good and can benefit the millions of illiterate persons. People are given not only the basic literacy, but also given information regarding their day-to-day life - civic senses, rights and duties, etc. But the tragic aspect of the scheme is that people's response, is very poor. There is lack of initiatives and interest among staff members too. They do not generally intend to visit interior and alienated villages. There is also lack of propoganda of the scheme. Moreover, instructors are paid only 50/- per month and therefore they do not take much interest in the teaching. The scheme as such does not lack funds. Rs. 7 lakhs per annum are allotted to this programme in the district. But there is lack of motivation among illiterate villagers also. They still do not wish to realize the benefits of Adult Education Programme. Very few villagers turn up to centres and that also irregularly. Family problems work-load, etc. also create hinderances. A lot of efforts are still needed, to make the programme successful.

6.2.9 Discussion

The preceding analysis of data on education and the obtained results show that most of the rural people are in favour of educational expansion, but inspite of their desire, they are not capable enough to educate their children upto the highest level or the level upto which they want to educate. Poverty, non-availability of facilities, lack of consciousness, work-load, etc. are few of such factors which hamper the educational achievement in rural societies. Education and particularly higher education is still a privilege of rich-class only. Rural folk realize the benefits of education. According to them, development of consciousness, employment, help in agriculture, are some of expected benefits of education, though they also feel that 'contacts' and 'bribery' matter more than mere education in the present social system. In last, it was found that Adult Education Programme was in poor state in the district. The reasons behind it were mainly related to lack of programme propoganda, lack of motivation on the part of extension workers, and lack of interest and motivation among adult rural population.

SECTION III

HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE

6.3.1 Introduction

Population as a great dynamic force is considered to play a significant role in the socio-politico-economic mechanism of a country. The controversy regarding the role of population in development process is centuries old. The thought of analysing relationships between nature's power of food-supply and power of human-race to multiply, first cropped up in the minds of Giovanni Bareto in 1589, and R. Wublace in 1691. In his essay on population, Bareto narrated almost the same relationship which after 200 years, T.R. Malthus scientifically explored in putting up a theory of population. It is a common view that many of the economic problems of developing countries have their roots in population explosion. Rapid population growth is one of the factors that stands in the path of development. The speedy control of population growth is the foremost condition for rapid economic, social and cultural growth.

Needless to mention, health, family welfare and development go side by side. Health effects the availability of labour, its productivity and exploration of the natural resources of a given area, thereby effecting the economic development of that region. Similarly, population has its

own effects on the health of the people, both at community and family level. Both factors affect the living standard of the population. While health constitutes one of the variables in the living status, population trends determine the relative share which would be available to the people in general. Though control of population is fundamentally a matter of changes in attitude towards reproduction and use of birth control practices, mortality and morbidity patterns are found to play significant roles in determination of family size. If infant and childhood mortality is high, couples tend to produce more children, anticipating that only desired number will survive. In addition, in cases of child deaths, the losses are compensated by be-getting additional children. Due to these associated cognitive and cultural factors, child survival probabilities and family size are observed to be strongly and negatively co-related. Therefore improvement in child mortality which is itself an important developmental goal, is a relevant factor for success of population policies in developing societies. In this context, this section presents the findings of the survey regarding health and family welfare activities in the study population.

6.3.2 Problems related to health and family welfare

An attempt is made here to find out the problems related to health and medical facilities in rural communities.

Respondents were asked to point out such problems in their own villages. Following table shows the results of analysis of this enquiry.

Table 6.3.1

Problems Related to Health and Medical Facilities

Sl. No.	Problems	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Non-availability of medical facilities in the village.	125	95.4	98	94.2	223	94.8
2.	Lack of maternity and child health facilities	10	7.6	9	8.6	19	8.1
3.	Distance from city/ lack of proper transport facilities	2	1.5	1	0.96	3	1.3
4.	Lack of trained medical personnel in the village/ quacks/incompetent doctors	14	10.7	3	2.9	17	7.2
5.	Spread of new viral and infectious diseases	18	13.7	35	<u>33.7</u>	53	22.6
6.	Poverty	4	3.1	2	1.9	6	2.6
7.	Others	5	3.8	5	4.8	10	4.3
	Total*	178	135.8	153	147.06	331	

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

The above table shows that two main problems facing the village-community are: (a) no medical facility is available inside the village for timely help; and (b) lack of adequate transport facilities linking villages to a center of medical help or city. Auxiliary Nurse and Midwife (ANM) is of course appointed for maternity purposes at some rural health centres and subcentres, but they too are not generally available and even when they are available, they usually charge money, which they should not. In rural milieu the expected money may be so high that the poor sections can be apprehensive of their services. Their grievances may be overstated but this shows their lack of faith in the system. One CHW (community Health Worker) is appointed by the government at village level who is generally a local village person. He gets 50/- p.m. as economic incentive. He lacks means, resources and quite often has no motivation to perform this work. He is certainly not competent to deal with common ailments. All other health and allied problems are revolving around these basic problems. Respondents also reported that since the next available hospital is quite far, they should have transportation facilities to carry the patients, which are not easily available and particularly in nights it is difficult to arrange them. Private doctors do visit these villages frequently, but they are not properly trained - they do not

have any degree or diploma. They have very few medicines and they also charge very high fees. Thus most of the villagers expressed that they avoid any medical treatment as much as possible and they generally depend on naturopathy and traditional knowledge of herbal medicines due to non-availability of other means. Similarly, sanitation is very poor inside the villages. Stagnant water and unhygienic environment increase the risk of infectious diseases. The author could hear about cases of deaths in recent months due to infectious diseases and non availability of proper medical aid. Malarial fever and other infectious and viral diseases are particularly common among weaker communities as their place of habitation is relatively too small and unhygienic, nutrition is low and their family size is large - that is, there is a clear infection - malnutrition syndrome. That was the reason why 22.6% (53) respondents reported increasing infectious and 'epidemic' problems as major health menace.

Respondents were thereupon asked about their suggestions regarding what could solve the above mentioned problems. The best agency or means in the eyes of villagers was undoubtedly 'government', because as much as 88.9% (209), 91.6% (120) from village 'A' and 85.6% (89) from village 'B' — preferred it to be the best means. Other suggested means were, efforts through political leaders, individual efforts, mass effort, village elites' efforts, etc.

Process of modernization has brought a lot of changes in the perceptions and understandings of even illiterate villagers. Whereas in past, traditional village communities had favoured Hakeens, aurvedic and other such kinds of medical practitioners for treatment, today situation is changed and villagers uniformly say that allopathic medicine is best medicine system, that they preferred. Following table shows the respondents's preferences regarding health systems.

Table 6.3.2

Preferred Health System

Sl. No.	Preferred medicine	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Allopathy	118	90.1	80	76.9	198	84.3
2.	Yunani	5	3.8	5	4.8	10	4.3
3.	Homeopathic	-	-	3	2.9	3	1.3
4.	Aurvedic	-	-	3	2.9	3	1.3
5.	Any available system	8	6.1	7	6.7	15	6.4
6.	No idea	-	-	6	5.8	6	2.4
Total		131	100.00	104	100.00	235	100.00

The table shows that 84.3% (198) respondents preferred Allopathic medicines. Rest 6.9% (16) respondents preferred

Yunani, Homeopathic, Aurvedic medicines and 6.4% (15) respondents said that they were ready to accept any available medicine . Our findings contradict the official assessment of the situation in this regard that the practitioners in various traditional systems - Aurvedic, Unani, Sidha, Homocopathy, Yoga, naturopathy, etc. - enjoy high local acceptance and respect and "exert considerable influence on health beliefs and practices" (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare; 1982: 9). The problem in the villages as observed by us is that the traditional health system as such, is more or less destroyed and is not in demand any more, but the limited horizontal expansion of modern system has not reached the majority of villagers.

6.3.3 Infant and child mortality

Due to obvious humanitarian considerations, for reducing mortality level and improving health and longevity are commonly accepted goals, formulated by state planning bodies in all parts of the world. It is also recognized that the decline in death rate and the associated decline in morbidity contribute to economic development through raising the health status and therefore the human productivity. As a result mortality has declined in all countries and now WHO (World Health Organizations) has set a goal of health for all by 2001. But at the same time in less developed countries

mortality and particularly infant and child mortality rates are high.

It has been established directly and indirectly that there are great socio-economic differences in the levels and structures of mortality in all countries, and more in poor countries where overall mortality is relatively higher. These differences have usually been observed in terms of urban, rural, residential, occupational, ethnic, educational, income, geographical and racial characteristics, viz-a-viz the demographic traits, e.g., age, sex, marital status and family size. It has also been marked that the less developed countries are also characterized by a more rigid stratification system (Sharma; 1984: 41-49).

Data have been analysed here to find out the infant and child mortality situation in the investigated villages. Table 6.3.3 shows number of children ever born and number of children surviving, and then number of children died between 0-1 age group.

The table clearly shows a big gap between children ever born and children surviving. It is to be noted here that this information is based on the responses of 211 respondents only; rest 24 for various reasons did not respond to the questions few of them were unmarried. Total number of children ever born were 1100, while children

surviving at the time of investigation were 734, that means 366 children had died (mostly between age group 0 to 1 year).

Table 6.3.3

Infant and Child Mortality in the Study Villages

Sl. No.	No. of children ever born			No. of children surviving			No. of children died			
	Vill.	Vill.	Total	Vill.	Vill.	Total	Vill.	Vill.	Total	
	A	B		A	B		A	B		
1. Boys	Numbers	324	253	577	221	187	408	103	66	169
	Perce- ntage	100	100	100	68.2	73.9	70.7	31.8	26.1	29.3
2. Girls	Numbers	278	245	523	168	158	326	110	87	197
	Perce- ntage	100	100	100	60.4	64.5	62.3	39.6	35.6	37.7
Total	Numbers	602	498	1100	389	345	734	213	153	366
	Perce- ntage	100	100	100	64.6	69.3	66.7	35.4	30.7	33.3

$$Z (\text{Sex}) = 2.96^*$$

$$Z (\text{Village}) = 1.62$$

* Significant at 5% level - one tail test.

These statistics show that infant and child mortality percentage is 33.3, which is undoubtedly very high. 66.3% (156) of the respondents reported that one or more of their children

had died between age group 0 to 1. Reasons behind this high infant mortality were mainly - unhygienic conditions; absence of proper maternity facilities, infections, malnutrition, unwantedness of some extra children; work-load on mothers and above all wide-spread poverty and illiteracy. It is also important to note here that boys are given more attention and care in comparison to girls, as our society is still male-dominated where boys are boons and girls are considered as curse, and perhaps this is the reason why in the investigated villages too the percentage of girls died is higher than the percentage of boys died. Out of total 366 children who died, 46% (169) are boys and 53.8% (197) are girls. Infant and child mortality trend can further be seen in context of caste, education and land-holding distributions. Social-structure does play important roles in relation to infant and child mortality rates 'whether factors like caste, education, land-holding, etc. have any significant association with child and infant deaths' was one of the interesting and important aspect of study from sociological point of view. In the following table the same data have been exhibited. Data have been classified according to caste, education and land-holding distribution in the investigated villages -

Table 6.3.4

Child and Infant Mortality According to Background Characteristics

Sl. No.	Characteristics	Experienced at least one child death		Did not experience child death		Total	
		Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage
1. Caste							
(a)	High	5	29.4	12	70.6	17	100
(b)	Medium	56	68.3	26	31.7	82	100
(c)	Low (SC & non-SC)	95	69.9	41	30.1	136	100
	Total	156	66.4	79	33.6	235	100
$\chi^2 = 11.16^*$							
2. Education							
(a)	Illiterate	115	66.9	57	33.1	172	100
(b)	Upto middle	29	93.5	2	6.5	31	100
(c)	High school and above	12	37.5	20	62.5	32	100
	Total	156	66.4	79	33.6	235	100
$\chi^2 = 22.20^*$							
3. Land-holding							
(a)	Landless labourers	86	85.1	15	14.9	101	100
(b)	Marginal farmers	36	75.0	12	25.0	48	100
(c)	Small farmers	25	59.5	17	40.5	42	100
(d)	Average farmers & big farmers	9	20.5	35	79.5	44	100
	Total	156	66.4	79	33.6	235	100
$\chi^2 = 59.74^*$							

The above table indicates that child mortality increases as the caste status decreases; more child mortality was found among lower caste respondents in comparison to higher caste respondents. 69.9% (95) of low-caste respondents reported child mortality in their houses, while this percentage among high-caste was only 29.4%. The reasons behind this finding may be firstly, the number of respondents belonging to low-caste is much more than high and middle caste and secondly, high and middle caste samples represent economically better-off groups than low-caste population. Hence they (high and middle caste people) could give better medical attention to a child in comparison to low caste population. Child mortality is negatively associated with literacy level; as the literacy level increases mortality rates come down. This shows that educated persons can give better attention to their children. Land-holding classification according to child mortality establishes the fact that higher economic status is also an important determinant of reduction in child mortality. 85.1% respondents with no land, i.e., the poor section of the sample reported child mortality, while only 20.5% respondents with large landholding reported child mortality in their houses.

Number of children at present were also classified with background characteristics caste, education, occupation and land holding. Following table shows the distribution of

children according to different categories of caste, education and land-holding.

Table 6.3.5

Family Size Distribution of Respondents, and Average Family Size by Background Variables

Sl. Characteristics No.	Number of children surviving			No response	Average family size
	(0-3)	(4-6)	(7 and above)		
<hr/>					
1. <u>Caste</u>					
(a) High	5	8	0	4	3.7
(b) Medium	40	24	4	14	3.1
(c) Low (SC and non- SC)	63	49	8	16	3.4
Total	108	81	12	34	3.3
2. <u>Education</u>					
(a) Illiterate	76	66	11	19	3.5
(b) Upto Middle	12	10	1	8	3.3
(c) High School and above	20	5	0	7	2.2
Total	108	81	12	34	3.3
3. <u>Land-holding</u>					
(a) Landless labourers	50	29	10	12	3.4
(b) Marginal farmers	21	20	1	6	3.3
(c) Small farmers	17	17	1	7	3.4
(d) Average farmers and big farmers	20	15	0	9	3.0
Total	108	81	12	34	3.3

The above table shows that middle and low caste respondents have less number of children than those who belong to high caste. The table also indicates that the number of children decreases with the increase of level of education; those with higher education have less number of children. Size of landholding has not much effect upon the number of children - all the categories show almost similar kind of pattern, except that average and big farmers have less children than the respondents belonging to the other categories.

6.3.4 Model-3

In order to examine the relationship between these variables and fertility, in multivariate framework, we have developed a simple regression model. The total number of children surviving at the time of investigation have been regressed on five structural variables which are age, education, caste, land-holding and household size. In notations -

$$B_4 = f (AG, ED, C, LH, HS)$$

where,

B_4 = Total number of children

AG = Age

ED = Education

C = Caste

LH = Land-holding

HS = Household size.

Here total number of children, age and household size are continuous. Education, caste and land-holding are ordered categorical variables. The step-wise regression method has yielded the following equation (the standardized Beta-coefficients are given in paranthesis).

$$B_4 = .0179 + .0204 AG - .1536 ED - .0620 C$$

$$(.1788) \quad (-.1885) \quad (-.0815)$$

$$+ .1309 LH + .1425 HS$$

$$(.1499) \quad (.2428)$$

$$R^2 = .1561$$

The above equation reveals that the predictability of the model is very low, that is, it explains only 15% of the variability of number of children. In other words there is no definite structural pattern behind the total number of children provided the assumptions of variable analysis are not very strong in this case. However in order of standardized Betas, the independent variables may be arranged in the following order:

Variables	Direction of Influence
(1) Age	Positive
(2) Education	Negative
(3) Caste	Negative
(4) Land-holding	Positive
(5) Occupation	Positive

6.3.5 Knowledge, attitude and adoption of family-planning

It is assumed that the primary aim of a family planning programme in a developing society is to reduce fertility. There are different methods and procedures available to reduce fertility which are included in the Indian programme. Not all of them are known and available to the villagers. Therefore it is important to ascertain knowledge and awareness of family planning methods, and the villagers' attitudes towards these methods. When the respondents were asked to state the methods of family planning which they knew, it was found that most popular methods among them were 'condoms' and 'operation' (tubectomy and vesectomy). Almost every respondent was aware of these methods. Other known methods were IUCD, natural control and rhythm, they were reported by a very small proportion. Respondents were further asked about the source of their family planning informations. Table 6.3.6 reveals the information sources.

It was found that maximum number of respondents received family planning informations through government officials only. These officials include VLO, BDO, frequently visiting extension-workers and others who from time-to-time held camps and meetings to this effect with the villagers. Second source of such information is the health system - doctors, nurses, etc. These doctors/nurses propagate the idea of family

planning and also convince the couples about absence of contraindications of adopting any family planning method. Few lady workers/nurses were also visiting the villages, propagating IUCD and other female family planning methods.

Table 6.3.6

Sources of Family Planning Informations

Sl. No.	Sources	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Government officials	44	33.6	30	28.8	74	31.5
2.	Political leaders	3	2.3	22	21.2	25	10.6
3.	Village elite	3	2.3	7	6.7	10	4.2
4.	Newspapers	1	0.8	3	2.9	4	1.7
5.	Doctors	39	29.8	21	20.2	60	25.5
6.	Friends/ relatives	34	25.9	17	16.3	51	21.7
7.	Others	4	3.0	2	1.9	6	2.6
8.	No knowledge	3	2.3	2	1.9	5	2.2
Total		131	100	104	100	235	100

Family planning communication in rural areas aims at increasing the credibility and acceptance of the family planning programmes and to promote contraception and the beyond family planning factors which influence fertility.

The government of India has, right from the inception of the family planning programme, always shown concern about developing proper communication strategies to reach the rural masses and change the traditional family size norms. Many government agencies and voluntary organizations are operating in the rural areas for this purpose. Perhaps, this is the result of the wide-spread communication that attitude towards family planning is quite positive today. Following table shows the respondents' attitude towards family planning -

Table 6.3.7

Attitude Towards Family Planning

Sl. No.	Attitude	Village 'A'		Village 'B'		Total	
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1.	Strongly favouring	21	16.0	25	24.0	46	19.6
2.	Favouring	87	66.4	33	31.7	120	51.1
3.	Neutral	16	12.2	26	25.0	42	17.9
4.	Condemning	7	5.4	9	8.6	16	6.8
5.	Highly condemning	-	-	2	1.9	2	0.9
6.	No response	-	-	9	8.8	9	3.7
Total		131	100	104	100	235	100
$\chi^2 = 73.45^*$							

* Significant at 5% level.

The above table describes that most of the respondents are in favour of family planning practices. As much as 70.9% (166) respondents strongly favoured or favoured. Only 7.7% (18) respondents did not favour family planning.

Respondents have also accepted the norm of small family size, atleast ideally, it was found that average family size, as reported by respondents, was around 3, consisting of 2 boys and 1 girl.

To favour family planning is one thing and to practically adopt it is another thing. People believe that family planning is the only means to reduce poverty, unemployment and allied problems but due to so many economic, cultural, social and technical reasons, they hesitate in adopting the methods. Here data have been collected and analysed to find out the actual number of users of family-planning methods. Table 6.3.8 shows the users and non-users of any of the family planning methods.

It was found here that 34.9% (82) respondents had ever used any of the family planning method and 25.9% (61) of respondents were using the family planning methods at the time of investigation. It is also important to note here, while out of 223 respondents, who responded to the question 64.5% (141), had never used the family planning methods in the past and 72.6% (162) of them were not using at the time of investigation.

Table 6.3.8

Users/Non-users of Family Planning Methods

Sl. No.	Ever						Present					
	Village A		Village B		Total		Village A		Village B		Total	
	Numb ers	Perc- enta- ge	Num ber s	Perc enta ge	Num ber s	Perc enta ge	Numb ers	Perc enta ge	Numb ers	Perc enta ge	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1. Users	45	34.4	37	35.6	82	34.9	42	32.1	19	18.3	61	25.9
2. Non- users	83	63.4	58	55.8	141	60.0	86	65.6	76	73.1	162	68.9
3. No re- sponse (including unmarried respondents)	3	2.2	9	8.6	12	5.1	3	2.3	9	8.6	12	5.2
Total	131	100	104	100	235	100	131	100	104	100	235	100

$\chi^2 = .34$

6.3.6 Discussion

It has been found here that general conditions of health and medical treatment are not proper in interior rural societies. It is a known fact that sickness or bad health conditions affect the standard of living and class-situations of individuals. Repeated sickness causes undernourishment and makes the individual further susceptible to infection in a disease ridden environment

(Ruzicka; 1982). Prevailing infections, seemingly of epidemic proportion and other diseases reduce the 'man-power' and ultimately hamper the process of development. Attention needs to be given to this aspect of village-society. Villages should be well linked with cities. Government dispensaries should be opened in interior and remote areas. Proper sanitation and residential places should be maintained to avoid any disease havoc. Though it is a fact that not much time has passed since independence and things will take time to be changed, but social factors alone are not that much responsible for poor health environment, as it is said to be. We have example of China before us. India and China got independence almost at the same time and started with the same kind of economic, social, demographic and structural conditions. Both countries were marked by high population pressure, wide-spread illiteracy, small land holdings, inadequate transportation, etc., but results are quite contrary. China had achieved a much lower level of death-rate, including IMR than that in India by 1970s. China's average death rate was 7%, whereas in India it was 15%. The present differences in demographic conditions of the two countries should be due to differences in the methods adopted for modernization and health planning (Sigurdson; 1978:97-107). However it is an improving feature that today rural people are less superstitious and believe less in supernatural remedies,

wittchcraft, etc. At the same time this is a problem of major health policy concern that contrary to popular belief, community faith in traditional health system is also declined. Even if the community faith in such practices does exist, the services are not available because modernization has disrupted traditional institutions of maintaining traditional systems. Since the allopathic system is associated with urban elite class, it is natural that, given the communication facilities, the intense aspiration for the system is likely to grow in countryside too.

One of the findings of the analysis is that infant and child mortality is high. Reasons, as identified earlier, revolve around two basic aspects of rural society. These are illiteracy and poverty. Cross tabulation shows that education, caste and land-holding have negative association with infant and child mortality. One of the other important reasons related to high infant and child mortality is the high charges, incompetence or non-availability of Midwife. Researches have shown that between 60 to 80 per cent babies born in the rural India are delivered by traditional midwives - who are usually older, non-literate and who learned their skill through apprenticeship and experience rather than through formal education. Even where government have tried to replace them with young, literate and trained health personnel,

traditional midwives continue to practice in large numbers and their services continue to be in demand. The medical profession tends to consider traditional midwives unhygienic, unscientific and superstitious old women who expendize the lives of mother and child. It is said that they wear dirty clothes, do not wash their hands and conduct unnecessary vaginal examination, etc. (Population reports: 1980).

Knowledge, attitude and adaption of family planning are quite contrary to each other. Most of the respondents are aware of family planning methods (mainly condom and sterilization), but some of them do not have sufficient knowledge of the problem of large-family size itself. There is a communication gap between government policies and masses. In an another study, the author found that the traditional age of marriage is less than what has been fixed as the minimum legal age by the government. It was surprising to observe that even 6 years after the bill has been passed in 1977, majority of villagers were not aware of this Act (Saxena and Sharma: 1985). In the present study, the average age of the respondents is 39 year and the average number of children surviving is 3.3 which shows that completed family size is rather high. The results also show that fertility rate decreases with increase in the level of education. Land is one of the primary sources of judging one's economic status in the rural settings and it was found that this has no significant effect on reducing the

number of children. The only thing that can be said about this is that average and large farmers have slightly lower fertility than others.

6.3.7 Conclusion

The preceeding chapter describes and analyses three major developmental aspects - loans, education, and health and family planning. It was found that loaning facilities through governmental agencies have been available to villagers for a long time, but the distribution process got impetus only after adoption of IRDP. Middle and scheduled castes have received more loans than the other castes. Middle caste is economically, numerically and politically influential caste and therefore the members of this caste have managed more loans. However, maximum number of loans have been given to scheduled caste community due to the preference and subsidies given to scheduled caste members. Loans are generally distributed for agricultural, industrial and other economic purposes. Certain problems are involved in getting loans. These problems are bribery, delay in getting loans, substandard material, etc. Problems also emerge in refunding the loans. Majority of respondents prefer to accept loans through some government agency only. People prefer to take loan only at the time of some need or to improve their economic status. There are few respondents who do not favour the loaning schemes

at all, due to the complications and problems involved in it. The second section, on education, shows that the proportion of school going children is very low and this is particularly low among girls. The cross classification with education, caste and landholding shows that children whose parents have higher education, and belong to middle-caste and have large landholding, are going to schools in greater proportion than the children belonging to other categories. The main reasons behind low enrollments in schools are poverty, family circumstances, and lack of educational facilities like shortage of teachers and schools, improper school buildings, lack of motivation among teachers. Child labour and unwillingness among parents and children towards education are also some factors behind low enrollments. There is also marked difference between respondent's preferred level of providing education and actual capacity to provide education. People expect different kinds of benefits through education. These expected benefits are like - development of consciousness and power of reasoning, better employment opportunities, contribution in modernization and agricultural development. Adult education programme is in very bad shape in both the villages. No such programme was under operation in any of the village at the time of investigation. Further, the last section of the chapter describes the third major developmental aspect; health and family planning situation in the study

villages. Both the villages are facing acute medical/health problems as no proper medical facility is available in the villages. The nearest health centre is quite far and transport facilities, particularly in nights, are not available. Since proper sanitation and hygienic conditions are not maintained in the villages, infectious diseases are spreading very rapidly. However, villagers today prefer Allopathic treatment to other conventional methods. Infant and child-mortality were at rather high rates in the villages. The reasons were - absence of proper maternity and baby clinic medical facilities, poverty, ignorance, etc. Infant and child mortality is higher particularly among low-caste and low-class respondents. Most of the respondents are aware of family-planning programme and prefer small family size. Ideal family-size is also small, but the actual practice of family-planning method is low. This is due to traditional attitudes, religious constraints, sometimes non availability of family planning methods and fear of after effects of using the family planning methods.

CHAPTER 7

ELITE AND DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Introduction

The review of existing theories in the fields of social-stratification pertaining to inequality, poverty, and elite, along with the review of literature on 'planning processes and implementation' in India, have thrown light on the general social framework. The problems of elite's role, participation, and interaction in development processes may be studied within this framework. The preceding chapter dealing with three major developmental aspects — loans, education, and health and family welfare — reveals the practice, knowledge and attitudinal dimensions of the respondents regarding these aspects in the study villages. The focus on the three specific developmental aspects within the broader social, political and economic framework help us to look deeper into the developmental patterns and emerging problems. One such important observation in this context, is that the development benefits reach the already better-off section in greater proportion. This particular section is not only economically better-off, but also educationally, politically and culturally. Therefore, a broader analysis of the elite becomes inevitable in the study of processes of rural development. The present chapter attempts at the same.

The chapter starts off with the identification of elite in the sample villages, and it gives their socio-economic background in comparison to common- respondents, and then proceeds to the description of the relationship between elite and non-elite on one hand, and contribution of elite in village-matters, on the other. The chapter also identifies the respondents, who are benefited through elite and reveals what are respondents' expectations of help through elite. The last section of the chapter describes the political and economic life of elite and their attitude towards education, health and family welfare in particular, and development in general.

7.2 Identification of elite

Two approaches - reputational and positional - were used to identify the elite in the investigated villages. Positional elite are those who hold some formal power position in the village, like gram Pradhan, block pramukh, panch, members of cooperative society, etc. Reputational elite are those whose names have been reported by most of the respondents on the basis of their economic status, educational standard and political participation: names for each category, i.e., for political, economic and educational, were asked to identify the three kinds of elite separately. In all 8 political elite, 13 economic elite and 10 educational elite were identified

on the basis of reputational and positional approach.

7.2.1 Political elite

Out of eight identified political elite, five are those who either held a formal power position at the time of investigation or in past. Two of them were village Pradhans at the time of investigation, one was block pramukh, and two were ex-Pradhans. Rest three were those who contested for these positions and were aspirants to hold these posts in future too. Among these 8 political elite one elite, who was ex-Pradhan, had contested for M.L.A., and held the posts of village coordinator, president of district Maurya-Samiti, Chairman of Mandi-Samiti at the time of investigation. Among these 8 political elite - 5 are from village 'A' and 3 from village 'B'.

It is also important to mention here that out of total 8 political elite, 6 fall in the category of economic elite too, and among them there is one political elite who is economic as well as educational elite also.

7.2.2 Economic elite

13 names were identified for economic elite category by most of the respondents. Among them, 5 belong to village 'A' and 8 to village 'B'. All these elite are possessing large agricultural land. In addition, some of them are also

engaged in services, business, etc. They also occupy important power positions at the village or block level. It was found that most (10) of the economic elite are either political or educational elite too, among the total of 13 economic elite, 6 are active political elite, 5 are educational elite, and there are only 3 - who are sheer economic elite. Among them one elite falls in all the three categories, i.e., economic, political and educational.

7.2.3 Educational elite

Respondents identified 10 educational elite in all — 6 in village 'A' and 4 in village 'B'. These elite are obviously better and more educated in comparison to other common villagers. Some of them are in the services, and others are engaged in agriculture only. The cut-off point which we could mark on the basis of analysis of their educational standard is 'Intermediate' — that is, those who have passed 12th or a higher standard are reported in the educational elite category. Among 10 educational elite, 5 are economic elite and one is political elite. There is one elite who falls in each of the three categories too. Figure 7.1 shows the overlapping definitions of elite in our sample.

7.3 Socio-economic background of elite

Here the socio-economic background of elite identified above, has been presented. It is considered that elite are

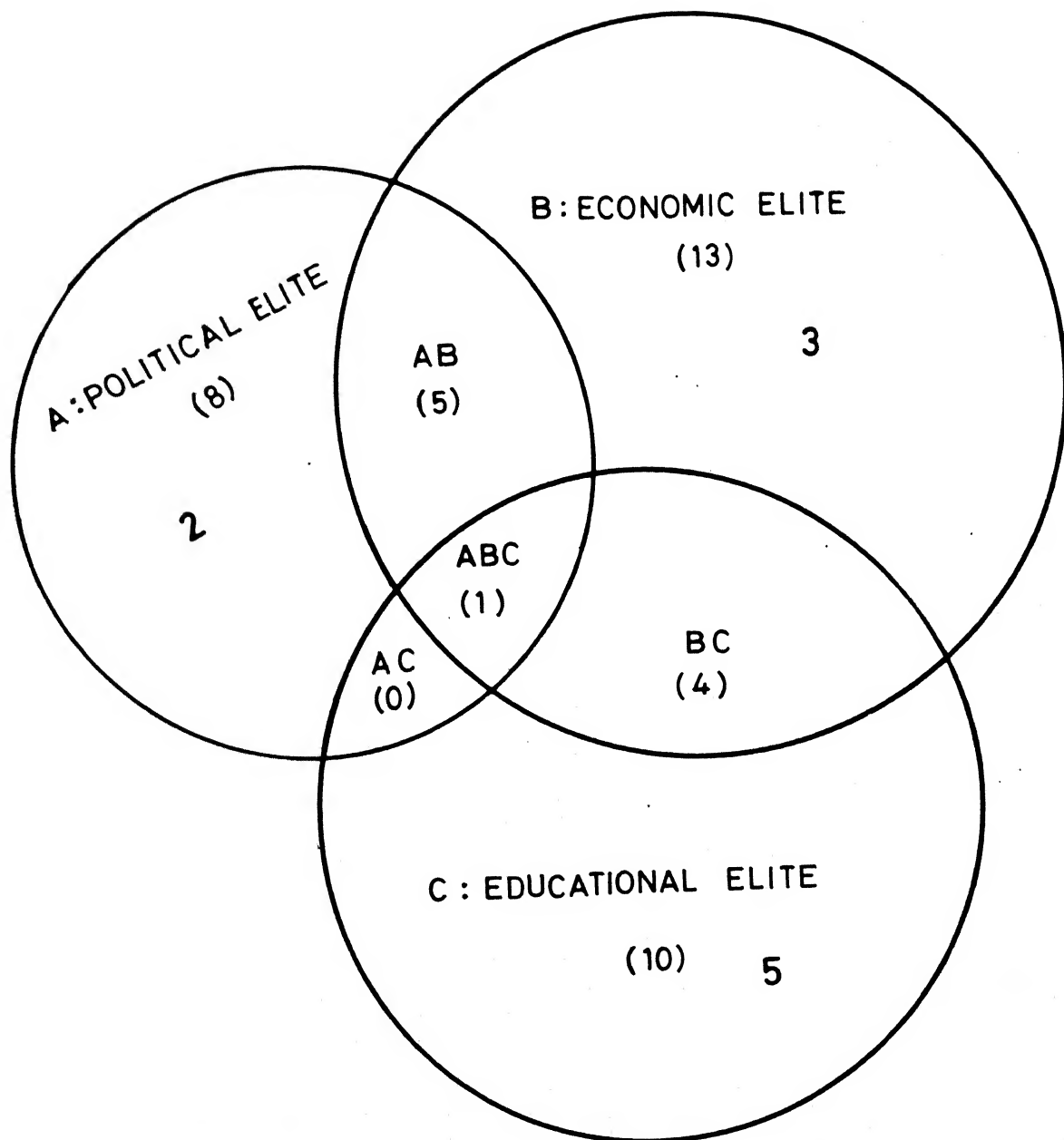


FIG.7.1 NUMBER AND TYPES OF ELITE IN STUDY VILLAGES .

different from the common people in so many structural factors like education, caste, landholding, power, etc. They represent a higher stratum in one respect or the other depending on the cadre, they represent. They belong to better-off and privileged section of society. Their socio-economic background helps them in getting and retaining the dominant position and vice-versa. The following tables show the socio-economic characteristics of elite vis-a-vis non-elite.

Table 7.1

Caste Distribution of Elite and Non-Elite

Sl. No.	Caste (1)	Elite		Non-elite	
		Numbers (2)	Ratio (3)	Numbers (4)	Ratio (5)
1.	Brahmin	1	.05	3	.01
2.	Vaishya	1	.05	4	.02
3.	Other high castes	-	-	8	.04
4.	Maurya	11	.55	66	.31
5.	Other middle castes	2	.10	3	.01
6.	Murao	1	.05	28	.13
7.	Mallah	-	-	25	.12
8.	Other backward castes	2	.10	30	.14
9.	Scheduled castes	2	.10	48	.22
Total		20	1.00	215	1.00

Back to

7.3.1 Caste background of elite

Table 7.1 shows the distribution of elite according to their caste background. The table also shows that majority of the elite fall in the category of maurya- caste, which is a middle caste. As pointed out earlier, this caste is an agricultural caste, owns a high proportion of agricultural land, and is numerically dominant in both the villages too. The fact that majority of elite belong to this caste also makes it highly influential caste in day-to-day activities of the villages. The high castes which have a ratio of .07 among the commoners have a slightly higher ratio of .10 among the elite. This shows that though the middle castes are dominant due to various factors including numerical political, economic, and cultural; the high castes, despite their numerical weakness, do not fare so badly. The lower castes are numerically strong but they are not represented among the elite in proportional terms.

7.3.2 Land-holding patterns among elite

The following table shows the distribution of elite according to their possessions of land. Comparisons with non-elite are also given side by side.

Table 7.2

Land-holding Status of Elite and Non-Elite

Sl. No.	Landholding status (1)	Elite		Non-elite	
		Numbers (2)	Ratio (3)	Number (4)	Ratio (5)
1.	No land	1	.05	100	.47
2.	Marginal farmers	1	.05	47	.22
3.	Small farmers	5	.25	37	.17
4.	Average farmers	3	.15	15	.07
5.	Big farmers	10	.50	16	.07
Total		20	1.00	215	1.00

The above table indicates that elite in general hold larger land than non-elite and thus belong to economically better-off section. Ratio of landless among non-elite is .47, while this ratio among elite is only .05. It is noticeable that one landless elite is an exception; initially he also possessed sizable land in the village, but since he joined service, he had little time for agriculture and thus he sold his share. Observations show that size of land holding — or in other words strong economic background — is a very important factor in determining one's status and power.

7.3.3 Educational background of elite

The following table shows the distribution of elite and commoners according to their literacy levels.

Table 7.3

Educational Distribution of Elite and Non-Elite

Sl. No.	Education-level (1)	Elite		Non-elite	
		Numbers (2)	Ratio (3)	Numbers (4)	Ratio (5)
1.	Illiterates	3	.15	169	.79
2.	Primary	1	.05	21	.10
3.	Middle	-	-	9	.04
4.	High school	5	.25	13	.06
5.	Intermediate	5	.25	-	-
6.	Graduation and above	5	.25	3	.01
7.	Others (Some professional education)	1	.05	-	-
Total		20	1.00	215	1.00

The above table indicates the clear-cut gap between elite and commoners — in terms of their literacy levels. There is indeed a big gap between the two: there are more educated persons among elite, while there are more illiterate

and less educated persons among the non-elite. The data show that education in itself and as an instrument of growth could help in achieving elite status in the community.

7.3.4 Distribution of elite according to occupation

The following table indicates the distribution of elite and non-elite according to their occupational structure.

Table 7.4

Occupational Background of Elite and Non-Elite

Sl. No.	Primary occupation (1)	Elite		Non-elite	
		Numbers (2)	Ratio (3)	Numbers (4)	Ratio (5)
1.	Owner cultivator	16	.80	70	.33
2.	Cultivator-cum-agricultural labourer	-	-	68	.32
3.	Landless labourer	-	-	61	.28
4.	Artisan	-	-	4	.02
5.	Services/Business	4	.20	9	.03
6.	Dependents	-	-	1	.01
7.	Others	-	-	2	.01
Total		20	1.00	215	1.00

The table indicates that most of the elite are owner-cultivators and the rest are in service or business. But among

the non-elite there are only 70 (.33) who are owner-cultivator; more than half of them are either cultivator-cum-agricultural labourers or landless labourers.

7.3.5 Possession of modern amenities

Elite are considered as privileged class of the society. To findout how many of these elite possess the few selected modern amenities, a direct question whether they possessed the given amenities or not was asked. Following table shows the distribution of elite according to their possession of modern amenities. This information is gathered through administering a specific questionnaire to elite exclusively and therefore there can be no comparison with commoners.

Table 7.5

Possession of Modern Amenities

Sl. No.	Item	Number	Per capita
1.	Cycle	20	1.00
2.	Tubewell	17	0.85
3.	Thrasher	16	0.80
4.	Radio/transister	15	0.75
5.	Pumpset	10	0.50
6.	Tractor	8	0.40
7.	Scooter/Mo-bic	5	0.25
8.	Jeep/car	3	0.15
9.	Gobar-gass plant	3	0.15
10.	T.V.	1	0.05
11.	Any other	-	-
Total*		98	4.9

The above table indicates that the elite have bicycles, most of them own tubewells and thrashers - as agriculture is their primary economic activity. And as the government irrigation facilities are not adequate, they own their own pumpsets and tubewells. Those who are non-economic elite do not possess tubewells and pumpsets. Television and gobar-gas plant are rarely found even among elite of the study villages. Only 1 owns TV and only 3 have their own gobar-gas plant. Big agricultural-economic elite do have their own tractors. Only three of the elite had personal Jeep/Car and five of them had scooter/mo-bic.

The above description shows that most of the elite enjoy modern agricultural and other facilities (which are not available to the non-elite to the same extent). Further, socio-economic background of elite vis-a-vis commoners was analysed on so many other dimensions, like capacity to educate children, number of school going children, average family size, average number of children, average infant and child mortality, views and acceptance of family planning methods, etc.

It was found that the ratio of elite having capacity to educate their children upto degree and above — or as much as their children desired — was .67. Money and other such factors were not perceived as constraints by them in the way of providing higher education to children. The case is just opposite with non-elite. A greater proportion of them

had capacity to educate their children only upto village level — or had no capacity to educate due to poverty. A significant proportion of them was uncertain about their future financial position to educate the children. This implies that elite- class has higher capacity to advance in future and thus make the next generation better and stronger, while poor may remain poor and illiterate, leading to widening of the gap between the two.

The average household size of elite is 7.8, while that of commoners is 6.7, which shows that elite have larger household size. Here it should also be noted that household size not only includes the number of children but all the persons dependent upon the respondents' income. As far as their family size is concerned, non-elite have larger number of children than elite; elite had 3.1 children on an average, while the commoners had 3.5 children on an average. However these figures are crude and a true comparison needs that they are standardized for age and other relevant factors. Moreover the elite favour and adopt family planning methods more in comparison to the non-elite.

There were 45 boys belonging to the category of elite who were of school going age; all of these boys were actually going to schools too. On the opposite side there were 221 boys belonging to non-elite category who were of school going age and only 121 of them were actually going to school. The same

is the situation with girls. All the school going age girls belonging to elite class were actually going to school; but only 5 of all the school going girls, belonging to common category were actually attending the school.

Further, when we compared the incidence of child and infant mortality among elite and commoners, we observed that 5 of all the elite reported one or more infant or child deaths in their houses; while 174 of the non-elite, numbering 215 reported the cases of infant or child death in their houses.

In sum, the elite belong to a better-off and privileged section of society both materially and culturally. They are more educated, possess larger agricultural land, enjoy more amenities and opportunities and also possess the seeds of better future- generations. They belong to traditional middle castes rather than high castes and they are the up coming sections of village communities.

7.4 Relationship between elite and commoners

In this section we will examine some aspects of elite-commoners interaction from commoner's viewpoint. An attempt is made to identify the commoners who have good, average, bad or no relationship with elite of different kinds, i.e., with political, economic and educational elite. Needless to say, development entails positive change in scale of living of commoners and the study of this type may help us to know

who from commoner's group will benefit from developmental schemes. We can also expect that the commoners who for whatever reasons expect no change in living standards may show alienation and they will not try to maintain good relations with the elite class. It should be mentioned at this juncture that the categories of political, economic and educational elite are overlapping and, therefore, in discussion of commoners and elite of particular type. The term elite will refer not to concrete individuals possessing special traits, but to a hypothetical group of persons possessing the mentioned quality at abstract level.

There is no absolute and objective scale to measure the relationship. In our interviews, we asked the respondents (only commoners) to categorise their relationship with elite in one of the following categories - good, ordinary, bad, and no relations. On the basis of data so generated, a cross classification of the relationship according to respondents' education, caste and landholding was made. Separate tables are drawn for each kind of elite.

7.4.1 Relationship with political elite

Following table shows the commoner's relationship with political elite.

Table 7.6

Stated Relationship with Political Elite

Sl. Characteri- No. stic of commoners	Very good and good		Ordinary		Bad and very bad		No relation-		Total	
	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Per nta
1. Education										
(a) Illiterate	60	35.5	68	40.2	14	8.3	27	16.0	169	100
(b) Upto Middle level	17	56.7	8	26.7	2	6.6	3	10.0	30	100
(c) High school and above	9	56.3	4	25.0	-	-	3	18.7	16	100
Total	86	40.0	80	37.2	16	7.4	33	15.4	215	100
$\chi^2 = 8.03$										
2. Caste										
(a) High caste	8	53.3	4	26.6	1	6.7	2	13.4	15	100
(b) Middle caste	38	55.1	25	36.2	-	-	6	8.7	69	100
(c) Low caste:										
(i) Non-SC	33	39.8	30	36.1	6	7.2	14	16.9	83	100
(ii) SC	7	14.6	21	43.8	9	18.7	11	22.9	48	100
Total	86	40.0	80	37.2	16	7.4	33	15.4	215	100
$\chi^2 = 25.9^*$										
3. Landholding										
(a) Landless labourer	29	29.0	41	41.0	10	10.0	20	20.0	100	100
(b) Marginal farmer	19	40.4	22	46.8	2	4.3	4	8.5	47	100
(c) Small farmer	20	54.1	12	32.4	1	2.7	4	10.8	37	100
(d) Average and big farmer	18	58.1	5	16.1	3	9.7	5	16.1	31	100
Total	86	40.0	80	37.2	16	7.4	33	15.4	215	100
$\chi^2 = 18.57^*$										

* Significant at 5% level.

The above table shows that in all 40% (86) respondents have 'very good' and 'good' relationship with elite class. 37.2% (80) have ordinary and .07% (16) respondents have 'bad' or 'very bad' relationship with elite. However, there were 15.4% (33) such respondents who have no relations with elite. The classification according to respondent's education, that literates and educated respondents have better relations with political elite than non-literates; only 18.7% (3) respondents among the high school and above education category were such who had no relationship with elite. The caste-wise classification of relationship between political elite and commoners show that middle-caste respondents have better and smooth relationship with political elite. This may be due to the fact that both the investigated villages are numerically dominated by middle castes and most of the political-elite belong to this caste only. Since political power usually remains in the hands of economically superior class, average and big farmers have better relationship with political elite in comparison to marginal farmers and landless labourers as political elite too belong to big farmers category. The stronger relationship between the two- the better-off section of society and the political elite- also emanates from the fact that it is mainly the better- off section of village community that gains most from network resources. Rich farmers, only are the users of input facilities to agricultural

sector provided in the developmental mainstream like seeds, fertilizers, irrigation facilities, pesticides, legal and administrative provisions, etc. A significant percentage of marginal farmers and landless labourers reported to have just ordinary relationship with political elite: they cannot expect to gain from it to the extent their advantaged brothers can.

7.4.2 Relationship with economic elite

Table 7.7 shows quality of relationship between economic elite and commoners according to education, caste, and land-holding characteristics of the commoners.

The table also shows that maximum number of respondents (46.0%) have ordinary relationship with economic elite. There were 21.9% (47) respondents who had no relations with economic elite; and 10.7 per cent have 'very bad' or 'bad' relationship. Only 27.4 per cent have 'very good' and 'good' relationship with economic elite. The cross tabulation with education shows that relationship varies with the level of education. Respondents with higher-education have better relations with economic elite. It is also important here that maximum percentage of middle level literate respondents have no relations with economic elite, while percentage of those who are high school or ~~above~~ educated and have no relations with economic elite is only 18.7% (3). According to

Table 7.7

Relationship with Economic Elite

Sl. No. of the Characteristic commoners	Very good and good		Ordinary		Very bad and bad		No rela- tion		Total	
	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1. Education										
(a) Illiterates	28	16.6	87	51.5	20	11.8	34	20.1	169	100
(b) Upto middle level	9	30.0	8	26.7	3	10.0	10	33.3	30	100
(c) High school and above	9	56.3	4	25.0	-	-	3	18.7	16	100
Total	46	21.4	99	46.0	23	10.7	47	21.9	215	100
$\chi^2 = 21.31^*$										
2. Caste										
(a) High caste	2	13.3	6	40.0	4	26.7	3	20.0	15	100
(b) Middle caste	27	39.1	32	46.4	4	5.8	6	8.7	69	100
(c) Low caste:										
(i) Non-SC	13	15.7	43	51.8	6	7.2	21	25.3	83	100
(ii) SC	4	8.3	18	37.5	9	18.8	17	35.4	48	100
Total	46	21.4	99	46.0	23	10.7	47	21.9	215	100
$\chi^2 = 36.05^*$										
3. Landholding										
(a) Landless labourer	11	11.0	51	51.0	10	10.0	28	28.0	100	100
(b) Marginal farmer	11	23.4	23	48.9	6	12.8	7	14.9	47	100
(c) Small farmer	14	37.8	14	37.8	1	2.7	8	21.7	37	100
(d) Average and big farmer	10	32.3	11	35.5	6	19.3	4	12.9	31	100
Total	46	27.4	99	46.0	23	10.7	47	21.9	215	100
$\chi^2 = 21.94^*$										

* Significant at 5% level.

caste- classification, it is the middle caste people who have better relations with economic elite. Most of the economic elite belong to this caste only. Another important finding of the table is that majority of low caste respondents too reported to have good or ordinary relationship with economic elite, though more than 40 per cent of them have 'no relations' or 'very bad' or 'bad' relations with them. Since most of the low caste respondents are poor they have to depend on local economic elite for the means of their livelihood. The relationship according to the size of landholding is positively related with economic elite. Since agriculture is primary economic activity in the rural areas, more landholding means better economic position. The small and big farmers have closer and better relationship with economic elite. Besides economic factor the economic elite and non-elite big farmers are also tied through various familial kinship and caste connections, and cultural factors. It is also notable that small farmers who definitionally possess 5 to 10 acres of land have above average scale of living locally.

7.4.3 Relationship with educational elite

The following table shows the relationship between educational elite and commoners as expressed by the latter, according to education, caste, and landholding.

Table 7.8

Relationship with Educational Elite

Sl. Characteristic No. of the commoners	Very good and good		Ordinary		Very bad and bad		No rela- tions		Total	
	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1. Education										
(a) Illiterates	51	30.2	88	52.1	8	4.7	22	13.0	169	100
(b) Upto middle level	8	26.7	19	63.3	-	-	3	10.0	30	100
(c) High school and above	10	62.5	5	31.3	-	-	1	6.2	16	100
Total	69	32.1	112	52.1	8	3.7	26	12.1	215	100
$\chi^2 = 9.76$										
2. Caste										
(a) High caste	5	33.3	7	46.7	1	6.7	2	13.3	15	100
(b) Middle caste	36	52.2	30	43.5	-	-	3	4.3	69	100
(c) Low caste:										
(i) Non-SC	21	25.3	49	59.0	5	6.1	8	9.6	83	100
(ii) SC	7	14.6	26	54.2	2	4.2	13	27.0	48	100
Total	69	32.1	112	52.1	8	3.7	26	17.1	215	100
$\chi^2 = 33.2^*$										
3. Landholding										
(a) Landless labourer	26	26.0	56	56.0	3	3.0	15	15.0	100	100
(b) Marginal farmer	12	25.5	26	55.3	3	6.4	6	12.8	47	100
(c) Small farmer	17	45.9	17	45.9	1	2.7	2	5.5	37	100
(d) Average and big farmers	14	45.2	13	41.9	1	3.2	3	9.7	31	100
Total	69	32.1	112	52.1	8	3.7	26	12.1	215	100
$\chi^2 = 10.4$										

* Significant at 5% level.

2 standard deviation
Applied here
no frequency
total value 25%

The above table shows that more than half of the non-elite have ordinary relationship with educational elite. The percentage of those who have 'very' good and 'good' relationship with educational elite and of those who have no relationship with educational elite is 31.1% (69) and 12.1% (26) respectively. When the relationship was analysed according to background traits, it was found that respondents with the educational background of high school and above have better relations with educational elite. Maximum number of middle-caste respondents have closer relationships with educational elite as most of the educational elite too belong to this caste only. A significant proportion of scheduled caste respondents have no relations with educational elite as they treat educational elite as agents of exploitation and selfish. Low literacy level among scheduled caste respondents is also one of the factor for effecting no relations with educational elite. Since high education is still the privilege of higher class, most of the highly educated people belong to rich farmers category and thus, the respondents with larger landholdings have better and closer contacts with educational elite.

7.5 Contribution of elite in village problems

Elite may act as catalyst agents in the development process; their expected role as a catalyst agent would be to

aid rural poor in acquiring public goods and services and enhancing their self-help-capacities as well. The expected contribution of elite class in the village problems or matters is multifarious. They are expected to convey the philosophy of planned change with a commitment to improve the productivity and growth; and to promote greater equality and self reliance in decision-making. The importance of their roles lies in the fact that rural-poor are facilitated through a more productive exchange of information, understanding goods and services. In short elite contribute in village matters in a large variety of forms and sizes (Lessen; 1978). Abraham describes five major functions of community leaders: (a) ventilating functions - the role played by leaders in opening the window of village community to modernity may be termed as ventilating functions; (b) ventricle functions - leaders serve as the communication link between change - agents and members of the local-community (c) as shock absorbers - leaders can absorb and soften the impact of the onrush of the force of modernization acting on the traditionally bound local community; (d) legitimation; and (e) sustenance (Abraham; 1974).

The above description gives us the expected role and contributions of village elite in village matters. But do they actually contribute? And if yes, how much? This was now a matter of investigation we tried to ask the respondents

questions regarding contribution of local elite in village matters.

7.5.1 Contribution of political elite in village problems

Table 7.9 shows the level of contribution by political elite in solving the village problems, as viewed by commoners. Table also classifies the responses according to respondents education, caste and landholding characteristics.

The table shows that a significant majority of respondents is of the view that political elite have nominal or no contribution in solving the village problems. The percentage of respondents who consider political elite's contribution significant is only 21.4% (46), 20.9% (45) non-elite respondents consider it ordinary. Further, the cross-classification according to respondents education, caste and landholding shows that the reported significance of contribution is positively associated with the level of education, i.e., more educated respondents consider political elite's contribution in village matters as significant and more illiterate or less educated literate consider this contribution as nominal or no- contribution. The caste-wise classification shows that more number of high caste and middle caste respondents consider political elite's contribution as significant than low caste respondents. However, when all the levels of contribution are observed together, it was found that more

Table 7.9

Contribution of Political Elite in Village Problems

Sl. Background No. characteristic	Significant		Ordinary		Nominal		No contri- bution		Total	
	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
<u>1. Education</u>										
(a) Illiterate	30	17.8	38	22.5	67	39.6	34	20.1	169	100
(b) Upto middle level	8	26.7	6	20.0	14	46.7	2	6.6	30	100
(c) High school and above	8	50.0	1	6.3	4	25.0	3	18.7	16	100
Total	46	21.4	45	20.9	85	39.5	39	18.2	215	100
$\chi^2 = 13.29^*$										
<u>2. Caste</u>										
(a) High caste	5	33.3	3	20.0	4	26.7	3	20.0	15	100
(b) Middle caste	23	33.4	20	28.9	19	27.5	7	10.2	69	100
(c) Low caste:										
(i) Non-SC	13	15.7	18	21.7	37	44.6	15	18.0	83	100
(ii) SC	5	10.4	4	8.3	25	52.1	14	29.2	48	100
Total	46	21.4	45	20.9	85	39.5	39	18.2	215	100
$\chi^2 = 26.84^*$										
<u>3. Landholding</u>										
(a) Landless labourer	14	14.0	22	22.0	45	45.0	19	19.0	100	100
(b) Marginal farmer	11	23.4	12	25.5	18	38.3	6	12.8	47	100
(c) Small farmer	12	32.4	4	10.8	14	37.8	7	19.0	37	100
(d) Average and big farmer	9	29.0	7	22.6	8	25.8	7	22.6	31	100
Total	46	21.4	45	20.9	85	39.5	39	18.2	215	100
$\chi^2 = 12.7$										

* Significant at 5% level.

number of rather middle caste respondents state that political elite's contribution is significant. The reason behind this finding may be that a significant number of middle caste persons are found in both the villages and most of the political elite also belong to middle caste only. Thus, middle caste respondents feel themselves closer to these political elite and consider their contributions in village matters as high, because due to their relations, they are benefited more from elite efforts. Nevertheless, this should also be emphasised that there is no pattern clearly discernable from the data on contribution of political elite in village matters according to caste. The picture is more confusing when we tabulate this response according to size of landholding. The only thing which could be said about these data is that landless labourers perceive no significant contribution of political elite in village problems. The landholding pattern shows that the percentage of small farmers who consider political elite's contribution as significant is 32.4% (12) which is more than the corresponding percentage among other landholding categories. However, the percentage of landless labourers and marginal farmers, who consider political elite's contribution as nominal or no-contribution, is higher than that of small, average and big farmers.

7.5.2 Contribution of economic elite in village problems

The following table shows the level of contribution made by economic elite in solving the village problems as conceived

Contribution of Economic Elite in Village Problems

Sl. Background No. characteri- stic	Significant		Ordinary		Nominal		No rela- tions		Total	
	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage
1. Education										
(a) Illiterate	10	5.9	23	13.6	70	41.4	66	39.1	169	100
(b) Upto Middle level	2	6.7	2	6.7	14	46.6	12	40.0	30	100
(c) High school and above	3	18.8	1	6.3	10	62.5	2	12.4	16	100
Total	15	6.9	26	12.1	94	43.7	80	37.3	215	100
$\chi^2 = 9.37$										
2. Caste										
(a) High caste	1	6.7	2	13.3	4	26.7	8	53.3	15	100
(b) Middle caste	8	11.6	14	20.3	25	36.2	22	31.9	69	100
(c) Low caste:										
(i) Non-SC	5	6.0	7	8.4	40	48.2	31	37.4	83	100
(ii) SC	1	2.1	3	6.3	25	52.1	19	39.5	48	100
Total	15	6.9	26	12.1	94	43.7	80	37.3	215	100
$\chi^2 = 15.16$										
3. Landholding										
(a) Landless labourer	6	6.0	10	10.0	49	49.0	35	35.0	100	10
(b) Marginal farmer	3	6.4	8	17.0	17	36.2	19	40.4	47	10
(c) Small farmer	4	10.8	4	10.8	16	43.2	13	35.2	37	10
(d) Average and big farmer	2	6.5	4	12.9	12	38.7	13	41.9	31	10
Total	15	6.9	26	12.1	94	43.7	80	37.3	215	10
$\chi^2 = 4.21$										

by respondents. As in the previous cases the cross-classification of responses according to respondents' education, caste and landholding is also given in the table.

The table shows that a significant majority of respondents are of the view that economic elite make either nominal or no contribution in solving the village problems. Looking at each category separately, it was found that greater proportion of educated and middle caste respondents, and respondents belonging to small farmers category are of the opinion that economic elite participate significantly in the village problems, in comparison to the respondents belonging to other categories.

7.5.3 Contribution of educational elite in village problems

Table 7.11 shows the level of contribution by educational elite in solving the village problems and classification of the responses according to educational, caste and landholding background.

These elite too, like the other kinds of elite, are not contributing to the satisfaction of respondents in solving the village problems. A significant percentage of respondents were of the view that educational elite are not at all contributing to modernization of village society. Nevertheless a few respondents were of the view that edu. elite were contributing more than political or economic elite. Education, caste and

Contribution of Educational Elite in Village Problems

Sl. No.	Background characteristic of the commoners	Significant	Ordinary	Nominal	No contri- bution	Total					
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage		
1. Education											
(a)	Illiterate	16	9.5	34	20.1	52	30.8	67	39.6	169	100
(b)	Upto Middle level	3	10.0	5	16.7	9	30.0	13	43.3	30	100
(c)	High school and above	4	25.0	3	18.8	6	37.5	3	18.7	16	100
	Total	23	10.7	42	19.5	67	31.2	83	38.6	215	100
$\chi^2 = 5.66$											
2. Caste											
(a)	High caste	2	13.3	1	6.7	4	26.7	8	53.3	15	100
(b)	Middle caste	12	17.4	17	24.6	21	30.4	19	27.6	69	100
(c)	Low caste:										
	(i) Non-SC	6	7.2	19	22.9	27	32.5	31	37.4	83	100
	(ii) SC	3	6.3	5	10.4	15	31.2	25	52.1	48	100
	Total	23	10.7	42	19.5	67	31.2	83	38.6	215	100
$\chi^2 = 15.53$											
3. Landholding											
(a)	Landless labourer	10	10.0	18	18.0	33	33.0	39	39.0	100	10
(b)	Marginal farmer	3	6.4	9	19.1	17	36.2	18	38.3	47	10
(c)	Small farmer	5	13.5	12	32.4	9	24.3	11	29.8	37	10
(d)	Average and big farmer	5	16.1	3	9.7	8	25.8	15	48.4	31	10
	Total	23	10.7	42	19.5	67	31.2	83	38.6	215	10
$\chi^2 = 9.89$											

landholding factors have no such significant effect on responses - besides the fact that respondents belonging to highly educated, middle caste and larger landholding categories respond slightly in favour of educational elite.

7.6 Benefits through political, economic and educational elite

The preceding section on contribution of rural elite in general village problems showed that elite, in views of commoners, make only marginal contributions towards solving the village problems and towards the advancing of developmental processes in the village. If at all they made only general contribution. Subsequently, we asked whether the respondents have been benefited individually through these elite. Researches have established that the actual beneficiaries of the development schemes are already better-off sections of the society and elite class do not actually intend to help the poor in raising their status. The functioning of development schemes is such that role of intermediary agencies, like banks and allied associations, which provide services to farmers, becomes inevitable. And in the process the major gains are absorbed by the hierarchy of such agencies. This ensues from the fact that all the local common people are not in position to make use of the intermediary institutions due to their ignorance, poverty, illiteracy, resignation and alienation. And due to local elite who possess the socio-economic resources have higher

access to these institutions.

Further due to their impoverished situation the rural poor depend on local elite for gaining benefits. Here, an attempt is made to know the respondents who have been benefited through local elite. The benefits gained through these elite might be of varied nature including their help in getting loans through government and other financial institution, giving employment to rural landless poor, to get legal and other advices in day-to-day working, etc.

Table 7.12 shows the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries through political, economic and educational elite according to their background characteristics. The table further shows that the average percentage of respondents benefited through village elite is 32.7. More respondents have been benefited through political than through economic or educational elite. The implementation process of development schemes and our social structure is such that political network and contacts at higher level play significant part in getting the benefits. Therefore a common rural man approaches local political elite to get some benefits through these schemes. The involvement of political elite in this process is increasing and becoming more and more important, and that is the reason why maximum number of those benefited through elite have been benefited through political elite only. Educational elite do not have much capacity and opportunities to provide benefits

Table 7.12

Beneficiaries/Non-Beneficiaries Through Political, Economic and Educational Elite

Sl. Characteristic No. of commoners	Ever benefited by elite				Never benefited by elite				Total					
	Political		Economic		Political		Economic							
	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage						
1. Education														
(a) Illiterate	62	36.7	60	35.5	39	23.1	107	63.3	109	64.5	130	76.9	169	100
(b) Upto Middle level	12	40.0	10	33.3	5	16.7	18	60.0	20	63.7	25	83.3	30	100
(c) High school and above	10	62.5	8	50.0	5	31.3	6	37.5	8	50.0	11	68.7	16	100
Total	84	39.1	78	36.3	49	22.8	131	60.9	137	63.7	166	77.2	215	100
2. Caste														
(a) High caste	4	26.7	6	40.0	2	13.3	11	73.3	9	60.0	13	86.7	15	100
(b) Middle caste	36	52.2	27	39.1	22	31.8	33	47.8	42	60.9	47	68.2	69	100
(c) Low caste:														
(i) Non-SC	29	34.9	29	34.9	22	26.5	54	65.1	54	65.1	61	73.5	83	100
(ii) SC	15	31.3	16	33.3	3	10.4	33	68.7	32	66.4	45	89.6	48	100
Total	84	39.1	78	36.3	49	22.8	131	60.9	137	63.7	166	77.2	215	100
3. Landholding														
(a) Landless labourer	37	37.0	42	42.0	20	20.0	63	63.0	58	58.0	80	80.0	100	100
(b) Marginal farmer	11	23.4	13	27.7	8	17.0	36	76.6	34	72.3	39	83.0	47	100
(c) Small farmer	19	51.4	13	35.1	12	32.4	18	48.6	24	64.9	25	67.6	37	100
(d) Average and big farmer	17	54.8	10	32.3	9	29.0	14	45.2	21	67.7	22	71.0	31	100
Total	84	39.1	78	36.3	49	22.8	131	60.9	137	63.7	166	77.2	215	100

schemes made for scheduled caste have led to some negative effects also. Local elite do not prefer to give financial assistance, employment and other such helps to scheduled caste community because they (elite) treat them (SC) as 'government's son-in-law'. And, perhaps that is why, non-scheduled caste low-caste, respondents are more benefited through these local elite than scheduled caste respondents. Landless labourers who constitute the poorest section of society have received maximum benefits through economic elite: they needed different kinds of financial help from these elite, in the form of loan, employment, and many other factors.

7.7 Expected help from political, economic and educational elite

Expectations of help from elite, in general, reveal that:

- (a) the respondent has been benefited by the elite in past, therefore they expect similar help in future too;
 - (b) the local power and social structure is such that a common villager has to depend on local elite in need or at the time of some crisis;
 - (c) village life has been traditionally based on organic links, and even today when village is in transition, the community maintains the reciprocal sociometric relations.
- Absence of any expectation from elite class may reveal that:
- (a) elite never help the commoners, nor did they show the motivation for this, and thus latter expect no help from the

the formers; and (b) elite are incapable of providing any help to the commoners due to their marginal position in the new developmental framework in which the village system grows chiefly due to external agency.

However, here a direct question; "Do you expect any help through political, economic and educational elite if need arises?", was asked to all the respondents. Responses have been analysed in the Table 7.13. The table also classifies the responses according to education, caste and landholding categories.

The table shows that the percentage of those respondents who expect any kind of help from political, economic or educational elite is much higher than those who do not expect any help from these elite. 81.4% respondents expect help from political elite, 72.1% expect help from economic elite and 64.7% expect help from educational elite. These respondents were also ready to approach elite for extracting help. This shows, the greater dependency of common people upon elite class. With the change of time and due to the fast developing modernization process, this dependency or the importance of elite has increased widely. The classification of responses according to background characteristics, shows that help expectation increases with the increase in educational status. Significant number of respondents belonging to all categories of castes expect help from elite. Within the low caste category

Table 7.13

Expectations from Political, Economic and Educational Elite

Sl. No.	Characteristic of the commoners	Help is expected from				No help is expected from				Total					
		Pol. elite		Eco. elite		Pol. elite		Eco. elite							
		Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage	Numb ers	Perce- ntage						
1. Education															
(a)	Illiterate	136	80.5	120	71.0	107	63.3	33	19.5	49	29.0	62	36.7	169	100
(b)	Upto Middle level	25	83.3	21	70.0	20	66.7	5	16.7	9	30.0	10	33.3	30	100
(c)	High school, and above	14	87.5	14	87.5	12	75.0	2	12.5	2	12.5	4	25.0	16	100
	Total	175	81.4	155	72.1	139	64.7	40	18.6	60	77.9	76	35.3	215	100
2. Caste															
(a)	High caste	13	86.7	10	66.7	8	53.3	2	13.3	5	33.3	7	46.7	15	100
(b)	Middle caste	58	84.1	59	85.5	52	75.4	11	15.9	10	14.5	17	24.6	69	100
(c)	Low caste:	63	75.9	58	69.9	53	63.9	20	24.1	25	30.1	30	36.1	83	100
	(i) Non-SC	41	85.4	28	58.3	26	54.2	7	14.6	20	41.7	22	45.8	48	100
	(ii) SC	175	81.4	155	72.1	139	64.7	40	18.6	60	22.9	76	35.3	215	100
	Total														
3. Landholding															
(a)	Landless labourer	79	79.0	68	68.0	60	60.0	21	21.0	32	32.0	40	40.0	100	100
(b)	Marginal farmer	36	76.6	30	63.8	29	61.7	11	23.4	17	36.2	18	38.3	47	100
(c)	Small farmer	33	89.2	31	83.8	28	75.7	4	10.8	6	16.2	9	24.3	37	100
(d)	Average and big farmer	27	87.1	26	83.9	22	70.9	4	12.9	5	16.1	9	29.1	31	100
	Total	175	81.4	155	72.1	139	64.7	40	18.6	60	27.9	76	35.3	215	100

more scheduled caste people expect help from elite. The reason is that there are several schemes operating only for scheduled caste community, thus this community is too much dependent upon elite to gain benefits out of those schemes. The classification, according to land holding categories shows that more than 85% of small and big farmers expect help from elite and were willing to approach them in some need. Large number of landless and marginal farmers also expect help from elite. More percentage of landless labourers expect help from elite than marginal farmers as landless labourers dependent more on elite class for getting employment, etc.

7.8 Elite and their political life

Theories suggest that elite may be of two kinds 'governing elite' and 'non-governing elite' (Pareto; 1935). They dominate the society formally and informally. And on the basis of their chief characteristics - we have categorized them into three - political, economic and educational. The aspiration to hold political power position is very high among political elite, but this motivation is also found among other kinds of elite as well, i.e., among economic and educational elite. In fact, the motivation to achieve some power position makes economic or educational elite - the political elite also. Our data show that the ratio of those elite who occupied some power position at the time of investigation among all the

elite is 0.4 (8). They hold various positions such as village pradhan, block pramukh or membership of several formal societies. Their aspiration to achieve some political power position is evident from the fact that half of them contested elections for various posts in past and more than half of them still have the ambitions to contest for the posts like gram pradhan, sarpanch or even for M.L.A. All of these elite are not members of political parties. Only 5 of them reported to be members of any political party. It is interesting to note that all those who reported to be member of any political party reported to be member of ruling party, that is, of Congress-I only. Along with it, 12 of the elite reported to favour particular political party at the time of election and they all were in favour of Congress-I.

Author was also interested to find out the relationship and interaction of elite with outside agencies like officials at block, bank or at district level and local M.L.A./M.P., etc. This might help us to understand their ways of functioning and their efforts to maintain their elite position at the village level through network.

It was found that 15 members of elite-class had contacts with various officials at block/district level and 11 of them knew local M.L.A. and M.P. personally. These figures help us to understand that majority of them maintain contacts with officials and higher political leaders. These contacts, in fact,

create a feeling of fear on one hand, and expectation of some benefits on the other, among the rural non-elite. This factor helps the elite to maintain their status and dependency of common-folk on them. And this is why, elite devote considerable time in developing social networks at superior levels. The interaction with outside agencies may also depend upon their (elite) frequency of visits to the city. Their visits to city expose them to power processes, modern technology, new state programmes and developmental schemes and with this knowledge, they act as carriers of information and innovation from city to village. They make the common people acquainted with the new outside developments. Certain government officials are responsible to convey the recent changes and development to the people concerned. But these officials rarely visit the village and thus local elite become the 'real change agents'. |

Here, it was found that all the elite visit the city. However, 6 of them visit the city daily; 21 visit the city frequently (3 to 4 times a week); and rest visit rather less frequently. Thus the elite have frequent contacts with city head quarter.

Reading of newspaper is one important source modernization media which let the people know not only the new developments but also develop a new thinking. Exposure to mass-media is considered as one of the crucial variable in modernisation

process. It was found that even educated people of the village were not reading the newspapers daily. Though they had strong desire to go through papers, but newspapers are generally not available daily in the villages. Our data in this regard show that in all 17 elite read newspapers; 5 of them read newspaper daily and 12 are irregular readers of newspaper - they read it whenever it is available to them. Generally they read local newspapers, as they are more interested in local and regional news rather than national or international news. Radio/transistor is another important media of modernization. It was found that 15 elite had their own radio/transistor and were almost daily listener of news; advertisements. Other time to time announcements and discussions also made them aware of new changes and development. Panchayat election is one of the chief political activity where the political behaviour of village elite can well be observed. As pointed out earlier, out of 8 political elite identified in both the villages, 2 were pradhans and 1 was ex-pradhan and 2 were those who contested for the post of pradhan in the recently held elections but lost. Panchayat elections in both the villages were held in May 1983. The panchayat elections are not generally held on due date. This time also elections were held five years after the scheduled time.

7.8.1 Elections in village 'A'

Panchayat elections in village 'A' were held in May 1983. Mr. Dori Lal, Mr. Krishna Pal and Mr. Raghunath were three contestants for the post of pradhan. The post of pradhan is considered very prestigious and powerful and therefore the village people seem to be more concerned and aware in this election than even in the elections of M.L.A. and M.P. Among the above three mentioned contestants, Dori Lal was the then pradhan and belonged to numerically dominating backward Murao caste. Krishna Pal the other contestant was an economic elite and belonged to agriculturally dominating Maurya (Yadav) caste. He had personal contacts at higher levels, as his own nephew was block pramukh. The third contestant was Raghunath who belonged to scheduled caste and was a daily visitor to city and therefore he had developed few contacts at district head quarter. Elections were held after a lot of propoganda, promises and campaigning and finally there was a close contest between Dori Lal and Krishna Pal. The results of elections were quite queer, both the main contestants Krishna Pal and Dori Lal got equal votes, and therefore a recounting of ballot papers was ordered and finally Krishna Pal was declared elected by the margin of only one vote. This result could not satisfy Dori Lal and he filed a petition against this election in the court - which was under process at the

time of investigation. According to him, lot of bungling was done in the election. As the relative of Krishna Pal was block-pramukh, he manipulated the counting of votes. But the author was also interested to find out the major factors which were significant in gaining the votes in election. Thus we asked our respondents what factors lead to victory in election for the post of pradhan. They were asked to answer this question in the context of last election. The responses to this question are shown in the following table.

Table 7.14

Factors Leading to Victory in Election for the Post of Pradhan in Village 'A'

Sl. No.	Factors	Number	Percentage
1.	Money	8	6.1
2.	Caste	7	5.3
3.	Popularity	73	55.7
4.	Unfair means	41	31.3
5.	Relations with political and government officials	11	8.4
6.	Commitment to social welfare	41	31.3
7.	Luck	15	11.5
8.	Others	11	8.4
9.	No response	3	2.3
	Total*	210	160.3
	Net respondents	131	

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

The table shows that 55.7% (73) respondents consider popularity of the candidate as most significant factor in winning the election. Since there was lot of bungling in the last particular election, a significant proportion of respondents, 31.3% (41), considered 'unfair means' as a factor that led to winning of election.

7.8.2 Elections in village 'B'

Elections in village 'B' were also held in May/June 1983. The two contesting candidates were Bihari Lal and Pitamber Lal. Bihari Lal was the younger brother of the then pradhan and belonged to Maurya caste, the other contesting candidate, Pitamber Lal belonged to Vaishya caste which is numerically limited in this village. The results of elections were : Pitamber Lal won the election by a considerable fair majority. Factors that lead to winning as conceived by respondents have been shown in table 7.15.

The table shows that the most significant factor indicated by 64.4% (67) respondents was 'popularity of the candidate', followed by the 'expectations of benefits' through new Pradhan and his commitment to social service.

Table 7.15

Factors Leading to Victory in Election for the Post of Pradhan
in Village 'B'

Sl. No.	Factors	Number	Percentage
1.	Money	9	8.7
2.	Caste	5	4.8
3.	Popularity	67	64.4
4.	Unfairmeans	1	0.9
5.	Relation with political government officials	21	20.2
6.	Commitment to social service	34	32.7
7.	Luck	-	-
8.	Expectation of benefits through new Pradhan	36	33.7
9.	No response	6	
	Total*	179	165.4
	Net respondents	104	100

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

The process of village panchayat election gives us valuable insight to study and analyse the political behaviour of elite. Motivation to achieve power position is considerably high among elite. In fact, this motivation put them in the category of political elite separately. The behaviour of such political elite thus, differs from other fellow elite as

prime objective of political elite is to gain the confidence of villagers so as to collect maximum votes, and in fact this is the reason why maximum number of those who are benefited through elite, are benefited through political elite only. The expectation of help through political elite is also higher due to the same reason. Further, factors leading to decision in voting behaviour in panchayat election depends normally on need of the time and circumstances; but we could find 'popularity of the candidate' as main deciding factor in both the villages. By popularity of the candidate, they (respondents) mean the general behaviour of the candidate with his fellow villagers, his concern for local problems, his motivation to help in the development processes of the village and also his personal moral character. Commitment to social service which is closely associated with popularity factor also carries a significant weightage. As pointed out earlier, situational factors are also important in election. We found that in village 'A', 31.3% respondents reported 'unfair means' as a factor which played an important part in the recently held elections. Since, lot of bungling and manipulations were said to have been done in the election, the unfair means became a situational factor in that particular election. Likewise, in village 'B' the then pradhan had not done improvements in the village, and one or two such cases occurred when he lost the public confidence, therefore despite being numerically

in majority, he lost the election. The villagers voted for the other candidate in the expectation of some help and benefits through new pradhan and therefore this expectation of benefits through new pradhan became an important situational factor for that particular election in village 'B'.

7.9 Elite and their economic life

Money lending is considered as one of the traditional business of economic elite. This is also considered as one of the main instrument through which rich exploit the poor and needy. They give money at very high rate of interest and also keep jewellery, property, land, etc. mortgaged. The rate of interest varies from 25% to 50% per year. When the questions related to money lendings were put to economic elite, they were quite cautious in responding, 10 out of 13 economic elite agreed honestly that they lend money to the needy persons. But they were not ready to disclose the rate of interest. Majority of them told that they give money out of generosity - they do not take the interest. "If any of their village fellow-being is in need or in some trouble - it is their moral duty to help him", said one of them. 4 of those who had agreed that they lend money reported that their money is returned in time; and 4 of them reported that their money is not returned in time; 2 did not respond to this question. We were also interested to find out the reactions of these elite, if their

money is not returned in time; and also the reasons for not getting money back in time. The main reason for the clients, not being able to give the borrowed money back in time, is that most of the creditors are extremely poor - they take loan to meet some urgent need, e.g., for marriage expenses, medical treatment, etc. Most of such persons take loan for consumption purposes, and not for investment. Whatever they earn is hardly sufficient to meet their bare necessities. Moreover, their loans keep on multiplying due to high rate of interest and their inability to pay the loan off in time. And occasions like marriages, festivals and sudden diseases, death in the family, etc., produce need to borrow money from moneylenders. This is the reason why the commoners are constantly under loans. When asked about what they (elite) do when their money is not returned in time, they responded: (a) they give more time to creditors, (b) they can wait only if loan is given in friendly way. Elite find it difficult to pressurize their clients for return.

Loans are also distributed among the poor through various official and non-official agencies. Today IRDP is one much popular official programme under which all kinds of loans are distributed. Whether rural poor really get long-term benefits through these loans or not, was an important aspect to be investigated for the future planning purposes. Rural non-elite were questioned separately on this issue - their responses

have been described earlier. When we looked at elite perception regarding loaning schemes as such, it was found that 17 of them were in favour of loans and reported that it is beneficial to them, and poor can also be benefited through loans. On the contrary when rural mass was asked, the majority of them were of the view that loans are not beneficial to them as far as long-term benefits are concerned. Elite told if loans were used properly and were invested to start some new work- they could bear fruits. Some were of the view, if corruption is decreased and real beneficiaries get the loan, it can be successful. Those who reported loans to be 'non-beneficial' to poor, gave reasons like, corruption, non-proper use of loans due to poverty, lack of knowledge, high rate of interest, etc.

There are vested interests of elite in continuation of loaning facilities through formal and informal agencies and that is why most of them were in favour of loaning schemes. Elite involvement at each level of loan distribution increases the chances of harassment and corruption. At the same time, due to the existing local power structure and as well as social structure, the rural poor will continue to depend on local non-poor in need or at time of some crisis. Therefore traditional exchange relations should not be disrupted, but they can be modified to increase efficiency of the pro-poor programmes. This can be done by developing public interest in

administration, on one hand, and making administration respond to needs of the poor on the other, and reducing local elite intervention in the process.

7.10 Elite's perception of education

Elite were asked to express their views about progress of education in their villages. None of them was 'fully-satisfied' with the expansion of education in their villages. Only 3 were satisfied with the education as prevalent in their villages. Most of them were either unsatisfied or highly unsatisfied with the quality and level of education in their villages. Following table shows the existing educational problems in the village as felt by elite.

Table 7.16

Elite Perception of Village Educational Problems

Sl. No.	Problem	Number of elite	Ratio
1.	Scarcity of schools	11	0.55
2.	Scarcity of adequate teachers	9	0.45
3.	Lack of consciousness among villagers	16	0.80
4.	Poverty	15	0.75
5.	Others	-	-
	Total*	51	2.55
	Net respondents	20	1.00

* Total exceeds 100 due to multiple responses.

Multiple responses were received on the existing problems of education in their villages. First three responses are taken together for presentation. The results reveal that 16 elite were of the view that the most important reason behind the poor state of education was the lack of consciousness among villagers as they do not realize the benefits of education. Poverty and lack of schools and adequate number of motivated teachers are also crucial educational problems in the villages.

Since elite constitute the better-off section of society, their behaviours are expected to be pull factors in development. Since they are better educated and more conscious than commoners, they are supposed to work in the direction of expansion and promotion of education. When asked, 'how can they help in the extending and advancement of education?' Multiple responses were recorded. Considering only first two responses, it was found, 3 of them outrightly denied to be able to help in the development of education; 10 reported that they can propagate the benefits of education - they can advise people to give better education to their children; and the remaining elite told that they can request the teachers to teach properly and come punctually to the schools. They can give subscription for the maintenance and construction of school buildings. Elite were further asked 'whether they were actually doing anything in the above mentioned direction.'

10 of them agreed that they were actually doing something for the expansion of education at the time of interview , while the rest 10 agreed honestly that they were not doing anything in this direction. Those who were making efforts in the direction of welfare of education, were mostly inspiring the people to get their children educated. Some of them were also propagating the benefits of education to the rural mass. One such educational elite was earlier engaged in running an adult education school. One another respondent was helping the poor children financially in getting education.

7.11 Elite's perception of health and family welfare

Health and family planning are considered as two very important parameters of development. Human resource development theories are not only concerned with the economic growth and increase in GNP and per-capita income, but these theories also point out that human capacity must also be increased and that can be increased only if good health conditions are prevailing. High infant mortality, low expectation of life, unhygienic health conditions and low acceptance of family planning programmes are assumed to be few of the hinderances in modernization of community.

In order to examine concern of elite regarding health and family planning, they were asked to mention the existing health problems in the village. Multiple responses were collected over this question. Taken first three responses

together, following table is constructed.

Table 7.17

Elite Perception of Village Health Problems

Sl. No.	Main problem	Number	Ratio
1.	Problem of drinking water	12	0.60
2.	Problem of roads/drainage	20	1.00
3.	Problems of Doctor/hospital	19	0.95
4.	Problem of medicines	9	0.45
5.	Others	-	-
	Total*	60	3.0
	Net respondents	20	1.0

* Total exceeds 1.00 due to multiple responses.

The table indicates that first and foremost perceived problem is that of muddy road and lack of proper drainage system, which is followed by absence of Doctor/hospital and lack of drinking water facilities. These all problems in combination effect the health conditions of the rural-mass negatively. Next obvious question that arouse was, how these problems could be removed! When elite were asked to answer it, several suggestions came up. 'Hospitals, medical shops, Doctors need to be provided to villages,' they said emphasis should be laid on sanitation, and proper roads and drainages should be

constructed. Few elite were of the view that only government and local M.L.A./M.P. might be able to solve the problems. Pradhans of village suggested that more funds should be given to gram sabhas, so that problems could be tackled at lower level only and representatives of the village would be in better position to take some independent steps. Since elite are considered to be an important link in the development chain between state and the village, their participation in the advancement of health conditions of the village is also important. 10 of the existing elite reported to be engaged in the medical and health activities of the village. Following kinds of help/cooperation was reported by elite.

1. They helped in construction of brick-path inside the village through approaching the authorities.
2. They conveyed the problems of the village to concerned authorities and local M.L.A./M.P.
3. They helped physically in the construction of roads - through 'Shramdan' (labour donation).
4. One of them was CHW (Community Health Worker) and supplied medicines to the villagers.
5. One of them gave one room of his house free of rent to a Doctor to open a 'medical shop'-cum-clinic.

Still we find that there is general apathy among elite in medical and health activities. 10 of them were not at all doing anything to this effect. Elite had their own sufficient

resources and means of maintaining good health. Earlier discussion on socio-economic background of elite has already shown that elite have less infant mortality and enjoy better health facilities and thus, they were little bothered about rest of the people.

Family planning programme has been vastly propagated throughout the rural India. Government is committed to convert it into a people's movement and it is understood that high fertility is a major obstacle in the socio-economic and cultural transformation of society. Regarding the family planning programme activities; 6 of them considered the progress of programme in good state; 10 thought it to be just ordinary; and 4 considered that it is in bad shape. When asked further, 'how the programme can be made more successful,' multiple responses were received. Taken first two responses together, the following table is obtained.

Table 7.18

Suggestions for the Improvements of Family Planning Programme

Sl. No.	Suggestion	Number	Ratio
1.	Need for communication	13	0.65
2.	Need for cheaper and better facilities.	6	0.30
3.	Need for extension work, in particular among women	2	0.10
4.	Need for developing trust among people regarding FP Programme	2	0.10
5.	Need for education and developing consciousness	4	0.20
	Total*	27	1.35
	Net respondents	20	1.00

* Total exceeds 1.00 due to multiple responses.

The above table shows that elite's opinion there is a need for more effective communication among the rural mass. A common illiterate villager must know the multiple methods of family planning and benefits of small family size. There is also a need for strengthening the villagers' faith in the programme. In addition, there is also a need for preparing motivated team of extension workers and particularly of women extension workers. Some times sufficient facilities are also not available, the supply of contraceptives, therefore needs to be improved.

When asked about what elite themselves could do for betterment of the programme, they responded that they could persuade the people to adopt the family planning methods. They could also arrange meetings for discussing family planning issues. 10 of them were actually doing some extension work on their own; motivating others for voluntary adoption of family planning, propagating the advantages of small family and persuading the people to adopt the family planning contraceptives.

7.12 Perception regarding development schemes

The structure and functioning of development schemes is such that elite have important roles in the development processes at micro level. Therefore, elite-perception regarding development in general, and development schemes in particular, is of great significance in broader developmental context.

Here an attempt is made, thus, to find out the perception of elite regarding development schemes, which includes: their perceived expected roles, perceived extended help to fellow villagers, perceived causes of less failure or low success and mal-functioning of developmental efforts. Elite act as intermediaries in the implementation of development schemes. Whether it is identification of beneficiary, distribution of loans, seeds, fertilizers, or implementation of any other important scheme, the role of elite becomes an integral part of it. It was found that 16 elite were contacted for their help in the implementation of prevailing development schemes. They were contacted by BDOs, ADOs, VLOs, and other government officials. In fact, no developmental scheme in elite periphery is successful without their help and consent. It was also found that all those who were approached for help actually extended their full help and cooperation in these affairs. Following kinds of help were extended by elite -

1. Help in the implementation of 20 points programme.
2. Financial help - i.e., help in the form of giving contribution, etc.
3. Help in spreading the loaning scheme among scheduled caste community.
4. Pradhan of village 'A' told that he allotted $\frac{1}{4}$ of gram-subha's fund for the different development purposes implemented by the government.

5. They helped the government officials in identification of the beneficiaries.
6. Some of them reported that they helped extensively in the implementation of family planning programmes. They not only propagated the programme but also persuaded the people to adopt family planning methods.
7. Few of them checked the quality of seeds and fertilizers, etc.
8. Help in verifying the list of beneficiaries, etc.

Few of them were of the view that they could only suggest the concerned officials, but actually officials do whatever they like, many times officials do not pay heed to advices of local elite. A review of literature and several reports add to the fact that the fruits of development are not reaching the target. Either these fruits are grabbed by intermediaries or are taken away by wrong beneficiaries. The elite help in the identification of beneficiaries, in the process of implementation of a particular scheme, and finally in the distribution of benefits. When elite were asked whether the real targets are actually being benefited through the various development schemes, it was found that 13 of them agreed that fruits of development are not reaching the real target. Other 7 told that benefits are reaching the real targets but not in appropriate proportions. A significant proportion of

these benefits is seized by intermediaries. When probed further, what are those factors which do not let the benefits flow in favour of the real beneficiaries? Multiple responses were received, which are shown in the following table.

Table 7.19

Factor for Failure of Development Schemes

Sl. No.	Factor for failure	Number	Ratio
1.	Improper identification of beneficiary	6	0.46
2.	Lack of interest among poor/government servants	3	0.23
3.	Illiteracy/lack of training	3	0.23
4.	Corruption	8	0.62
5.	Selfishness	3	0.23
	Total*	23	1.77
	Net respondents	13	1.00

* Total exceeds 1.00 due to multiple responses.

The above table shows that the first cause is the improper identification of beneficiaries. Though the total list of potential beneficiaries, officials make with help, is not false and few among the enlisted really fall in the category, a majority of them are comparatively better-off.

If a person has right contacts with bureaucracy with dominant people of the village, he may be listed even when he does not deserve. Secondly, corruption is rampant everywhere. Mostly, those names are included in the beneficiaries list who are ready to pay a fixed percentage of commission. Corruption can also be found in the distribution of goods. Bad quality goods are provided for higher prices. Delaying, harrassment, etc. are other forms of corruption. Thirdly, the involvement of intermediaries at each level of a scheme is such that intermediaries take away the maximum profit due to their personal interests. Fourthly, few of the elite were of the view that poor people lack the motivation to grow. Due to illiteracy and lack of knowledge, they do not take risk and wish to adopt new development policies. And, even if they adopt such policies they are not acquainted with the techniques of proper utilization which results into failure of that policy without yielding any benefits. Lastly, there is lack of extension workers, training centres and motivation among government servants to work among the poor and give them direction.

Philosophy behind Indian- planning is centred around establishing a socialistic pattern of society. That is why the strategies of five-year plans have been constantly shifting towards establishing an equalitarian society. Several

measures including IRDP, etc. have been adopted to uplift the weaker sections and to reduce the disparities. Now, how far efforts have been successful in marching towards establishing a socialistic society, is very difficult to answer. It needs a large sample and lot of data to analyse. Here, we could only find out the opinion of elite class about progress in direction of achieving socialisation. It was found that half of the elite were of the view that we were insignificantly successful or not at all successful in establishing such a society. Other half were of the view that we were moderately to highly successful in establishing an equalitarian society.

7.13 Conclusion

7.13.1 Formation

The concept of elite occupies a central place in the context of rural development. The word 'elite' carries the dictionary meaning of persons of particular excellence, the elite, have shown to be excellent in their branch of activities. Theorists have understood the 'elite class' as privileged class which has a distinct better-off socio-economic background in comparison to non-elite or common people. On the basis of the analysis, we find that this is true. The elite identified on the basis of reputational and positional approaches, represent a far better-off section of rural society. 'Strong economic-background' is the factor which effected

achieving the elite-status in most cases. Since agriculture is the prime economic activity in the rural setting, it is 'large-land holding' which is the first factor helping in the formation of elite class.

The concept of 'caste-dominance' (Dumont; 1970, Srinivas; 1966) applies here as well. It is not the high caste which is dominant everywhere or that elite hail from high caste only. Rather it is the principle of dominant-caste which is more governing. A caste can be dominant on 'numerical basis' or 'on economic basis' as well. The numerical factor sometimes helps in getting the power-position through elective choice; but it is the 'economic' or 'land-holding' factor which is more important. Here, in particular rural setting we studied, the dominance of 'middle-caste' prevails, here the particular middle caste 'Maurya', which is an agricultural- caste occupies large land-holding. Maximum number of elite belong to this caste only.

7.13.2 Interaction

Elite are leaders of society. A leader is one who is among the mass but ahead of them. Interaction between elite and rest of society is an interesting aspect in the study of elite class. Elite have interaction with all elite as well as with non-elite but the nature of relationship is different in the two cases. Elite have better relationships

with the members of their fellow caste, with persons having large landholdings, and with persons having higher education. An ordinary, illiterate poor landless labourers has only one sided relationship with elite class. These people have to depend upon elite class for earning their livelihood. They work in their fields as wage- labourers. Poor also approach elite to get loans during some social occasion, need or sudden crisis and this is the kind of interaction they have with elite which they (commoners) view as exploitative relationship. Elite are considered as 'agents of exploitation' generally. But elite have to maintain their status also and thus, in democratic politics, they pose to outsiders, government officials, as well as to commoners as their real well wishers and as they want poor to develop and flourish. Elite may also have to change their roles and adjust themselves according to the circumstances to maintain their position and status.

7.13.3 Contribution

The fact remains that elite contribute insignificantly in solving village-problems, though the responses vary according to caste, education, and landholding categories. Political-elite were considered to contribute somewhat more in solving the village problems through carrying the problems to higher authorities or through utilizing their own power-positions, but other kinds of elite, i.e., economic and

educational have little or no contribution in this direction.

Our rural social structure is such that the rural poor have to depend upon the elite class. Elite take advantage of their privileged positions and of the illiteracy, and poverty situation of commoners. A commoner, who finds himself trapped in the existing social framework, has no option but to be dependent upon this privileged class. Most of the common respondents were willing to seek help from these elite in future inspite of the fact that very few of them were actually benefited by this class in past.

7.13.4 Role in development

Elite are the real change agents. They have multiple roles in the process of development. The role of elite class in rural development can be divided into two specific categories; (1) role in the general village development, and (2) role in the development of under-developed.

(1) Role in the general village development

The general village development includes not only infrastructural development like the construction of roads, schools, building, hospitals, etc., but it also involves resource- development like development of education, agriculture, health, expansion of family planing programmes, technological innovation etc. Elite may help in the general village

development. This is largely because their own interests lie in the development of the village.

The development programmes have given a new framework and dimension to growth of rural elite. These programmes provide the rural population with better and ample opportunities for leadership positions and with necessary ground for leadership training. Even the traditionally neglected sections are able to rise in the new structure but their positions are of secondary importance and do not provide sufficient leadership opportunities. Important leadership positions of basic institutions like cooperative banks and panchayats are always the prerogative of a few privileged persons belonging to dominant caste.

It is said, 'not charasmatic but catalytic appears to be the new catch-up phrase for developmental leadership. If this is right, the era when development at the grass-root level would be inspired theoretically by great charasmatic leaders from the top is over. "We can only meet the rising poverty of burgeoning poor, if the poor themselves take the lead in making development work", says Alvero Villa, founder of the grass-root development group, in Columbia. In fact, we now know that our own leadership efforts prove effective only when we understand how people themselves define their problems and the means to eradicate them.

Of course, there is people's participation in this process of development, but its modes are different for elite and masses. The elite are ones closest to and one in command of the instruments of development and have greatest interests in such processes. The ruled mass are those who have the greatest distance from and the least stake in the state power. The participation of the masses in the development is somewhat like to the participation of the bullocks in ploughing done by the farmer. There is never any doubt as to whose design and decision is involved in this work (Saint: 1980).

The rich-peasant model (Macdougall; 1980) equally fits here. The model says that through the economic control, rich peasants have been able to channel the lion's share of the government's development resources to themselves and also exert major power in state and local government. The rich peasants have been able to protect their control of village's economic and political powers. We also find here that rich peasants have been more benefited through development schemes and they have grabbed political power positions also.

(2) Role in the development of the under-developed

Elite always try to maintain and increase their dominant position and thus always intend to widen distance from the non-elite.

In this kind of framework, efforts are made by the political power holders to create a society based on equity. Such efforts, formulated and implemented by the elite have to be proved fruitless because in the present kind of set up, all efforts in the direction of establishing an equalitarian society will end in fiasco because (a) power elite will never wish to quite their position. Their power position is dominant and safe only when the other class is existing and therefore elite will rather prefer to function in the anti-direction of such efforts, and (b) economic elite will always be engaged in more and more money earning activities and in improving their position. Therefore, unless the system is entirely changed the gap will keep on increasing. Moreover, elite can save them by attributed causes of failure of development programmes to others - bureaucracy, state politics, tradition or rural situation. A rural elite blame, the government for creating hinderances and corruption. A government official or other formal power-holders on the other side, blame the rural mass for the failure of the programme. This is in brief the story of rural development in study villages.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study of power-relations in the existing socio-political and economic environment occupies a central place in the field of political sociology. The development in third world countries has been found to depend not only on strategies and policies adopted by government, but also on the existing social system. Inequality, poverty, power-relations and the role of elite are therefore some factors which can not be overlooked in development studies. In our study, the concept of inequality has been viewed from non-sociological and sociological angles. While non-sociological approach considers inequality primarily as the result of individual differences, the sociological approach looks at it from functional and conflict systemic of the perspectives. Both the approaches however, agree on one point that inequality is a historical fact and it cannot be eliminated from society. Rich and poor are two fundamental bases of inequality. Rich are not only economically superior but also culturally, educationally and otherwise, and similarly the poor are poor in all respects. The class of rich may be called 'elite' as it is a privileged class and occupies top place in one or other dimension. The elite class emerges and continues not only due to its ascribed status, but also due to its achieved status. These are some

ideas which provided a social framework for this thesis. The main objectives of the study were to focus on the aspects of development in some selected rural communities in India and to find out the patterns behind such development processes.

Since independence India has been committed to the task of rural development and particularly to the upliftment of the weaker communities. Constitutional provisions have been made to this effect and the focus of all the seven five year plans have been in this direction. Growth with social justice and establishment of socialistic pattern of society have been the guiding lines before planners. The results of these efforts are visible to observe but they are certainly below the expectation. Several separate programmes have also been implemented and many of them are still in progress to intensify the 'Garibi Hatao' movement. These programmes included Community Development Programme, Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Antodaya, Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Training of rural youth for self-employment (TRYSEM), etc. The evaluation studies show that the fruits of these developmental efforts are reaching the already better-off section in greater proportion. This is partly due to the existing power-structure at village level and partly due to some drawbacks in the formulation and implementation of the development schemes themselves. The review of literature had

thrown light on the bases of formation, behaviour and role of elite in development processes: several studies in this direction revealed that elite grab maximum benefits and do not intend to benefit the poor.

The present study was conducted in Badaun district of Uttar Pradesh which is considered as one of the backward district of the state. Most of the population of the district is Hindu. Around half of its population fall in the age-group 15 to 60. Wheat, rice and millet are the chief agricultural products in this district. Expansion of electricity, means of irrigation and education are in poor shape. The chief problems of the district are lack of drinking water, residential place, agricultural land, work-opportunities, working capital, literacy and social justice. IRD programme has been implemented here since 1980-81.

Identification of sample district as well as of sample respondents was based on purposive sampling technique. Two villages — one developed and the other under/less developed — were identified for the comparative and more comprehensive study. Data were collected through structured questionnaire, informal and formal interviews and also through secondary sources.

The sample respondents belong to different age-groups, but the concentration of population is between age group 25 to 50. Most of the respondents belong to Hindu religion

and majority of them belong to local agricultural 'Maurya' (Yadav) caste. Significant majority of sample is illiterate. Majority of respondents belongs to landless labourers category which indicate the poor economic conditions of the population. The study villages have observed several changes during last 15 to 20 years. These changes are in the form of infra-structural development like house constructions, increased production, roads constructions, etc. The villages are still facing so many problems. These problems include 'kachcha' roads, bad housing conditions, lack of drinking water, lack of employment opportunities, lack of agricultural land, health problems, educational problems, etc.

The three aspects of development - loans, education, and health and family planning - have been analysed. It has been found that the number of loan beneficiaries is very small. The scheduled caste community has been given comparatively more loans, but the amount of loans given to them is very small. Loans for agricultural inputs and for other small scale works are given under IRDP. Loans are given in kinds and not in cash. Big and rich farmers may get loans directly through nationalized banks and other financial agencies. There are some flaws in the identification of beneficiary, in purchasing of items, in the distribution process of loans, in fulfilling the targets, in the refunding process, etc. The main problems of this scheme, however, remains corruption,

and above all, wide spreading infections and viral diseases in the rural sectors. Some of which seem to be new. The rate of infant and child mortality are very high. The upper class members observe less number of infant and child deaths than the poor. Knowledge regarding family planning is considerably high. Most of them are familiar with prevalent family planning techniques. Most popular method is 'operation'. Other popular methods are condoms and IUCD. A good number of respondents have been informed by government officials, elite etc. Average family size at present is 3.7; the completed family size will therefore be higher than this. Ideal family size is 3, consisting of 2 boys and 1 girl.

The description of all above developmental aspect led us to one common finding that those who were comparatively more benefited through different development efforts, belonged to already better-off section of society: their being in the position of advantaged section help them in seizing more and more benefits. Thus there is a vicious circle of poverty. The already better-off section which is elite section of society has been identified on the basis of positional and reputational approaches in the study villages. The bases of identification of these elite are their political behaviour, economic status and educational achievement. The socio-economic background of thus identified elite and their comparison with non-elite shows sharp differences between two

classes of rural society. Majority of elite belong to middle caste and average and big farmer's category. Most of them are educated and that upto intermediate level. They possess modern amenities like cycles, radios/transistors, tractors, tubewells, pumpsets, etc. These commoners state that they have ordinary to good relations with majority of elite. Education, caste and landholding patterns are generally positively associated with the levels of relationship. Elite's contribution in rural development, in the opinion of common respondents, is largely nominal, some of the respondents consider their contribution to be ordinary or significant. The opinion regarding elite's contribution in village matters is also positively associated with structural variables like, education, caste, and land holding. Number of beneficiaries through elite is small. These elite have benefited the people by helping them in getting loans, employment, legal matters in courts and many other ways. Though the actual beneficiaries through village elite are very few, the number of those who expect help from these elite is quite large. The data show that people expect more help from political elite than other kinds of elite, due to power positions and wide-spreading network of political elite.

The foregoing analysis of three developmental schemes and description of elite's nature, form and functions revealed few important facts, which may be helpful for understanding

dynamics of development as well as for policy making purposes. The scheme of 'Loan-distribution' is primarily formulated for the economic upliftment of the weaker-communities. Despite this the results indicate that loans distribution pattern is uneven. Chances of getting loans increase if one is more educated and belongs to lower caste and particularly scheduled caste due to protective discrimination policy of government. Landless labourers and those with less land also have better chances to get loans though these all relationships are very weak. Identification of beneficiary is done through VLO, Pradhan and village patwaris and therefore generally it is on the mercy of VLO, contacts with officials, interaction with village elite and finally, one's capacity and willingness to give bribes which count most in getting loans. Since security is also required in some kinds of loans, rural poor hesitate in taking such loans as they do not have security to deposit. The purposes for which loans should be given are already prefixed uniformly throughout the state and therefore rural and regional priorities are generally overlooked. Since loan is not given in cash but only in kinds, there are chances that bad and substandard material is provided and that also on extra prices. Since shops from which purchasing is done are fixed by officials, consent of beneficiary is also not taken into account in purchasing of materials. Authorities ,

responsible for the distribution of loans are more interested in achieving the targets. In order to fulfil the targets they seek the support of village elite to carryout their work and lots of irregularities fake listing of potential beneficiaries and wrong identifications can be discovered. They arise because the elite are guided by their vested interests.

These kinds of loaning schemes have also generated high dependency, lack of initiative capacity, and lack of will to develop on their own among rural population. Government policy of protective discrimination has increased the gap between social strata and has initiated some conflict among them. Non-scheduled caste people generally remain deprived as before as many of such benefits are meant for scheduled caste communities.

One of the major drawback of this scheme is that no proper followup or evaluation is done to analyse the implementation. It was found that loans are generally utilized for the allotted purpose, as loans are given in forms of assets and not in cash; but whether this utilization helped them in bringing above the poverty line or in raising their economic status still remain understood problems. Most of loans in rural sectors provide temporary means of income and they do not create permanent source of income. Thus these loans prove to be of

no consequence in the long run. Low cost work houses should be preferred to loans because they can directly give employment on more permanent basis, help in improving their income generating capacity. Analysis of education data reveal different dimensions of the problem of education. Lack of schools, motivated teachers, electricity, and willingness among children as well as among parents are few of the major problems related to education in the villages. There is also a lack of practical and functional education. The results reveal that education, age, and size of landholding have positive relationship with the number of school going children and caste and household size have negative relationships. These results show that inspite of efforts in the direction of providing equal opportunities of education to all, higher education remains the privilege of economically better-off section of society. One of the reason for low level of higher education among rural population was that there is sharp difference between city and village standards. Since most of the higher education centres are concentrated in cities only, a passout from village school faces lot of adjustment problems in city which effect his educational achievement. Government has started several benefit-schemes for the needy students, but these benefits like scholarships, fee concessions, etc. are not reaching the real targets. Those

who have knowledge , contacts enjoy these benefits.

Health and family planning services in the rural areas are not satisfactory. The villages suffer from lot of health problems because proper medical facilities do not exist inside the villages; lack of sanitation, extension work and also aptitude towards better health are other causes. Villagers do not give proper attention to themselves as they are often busy in some or other subsistence work. These health problems could be solved through government efforts only, is the view of villagers. The reason are as follows: (a) lack of interest, motivation and resources among individuals to remove the health problems; (b) high dependency upon government for every work and (c) preventive as well as curative works are considered part of government responsibility. We also find that allopathic treatment is preferred most in rural areas that contradicts the official assessment which says that the villagers still consider traditional systems as best.

The results also indicate that inspite of continuous efforts child and infant mortality rates are very high. Due to sex preference, sons are given more attention than daughters and, therefore, there is higher mortality rates among girls than among boys. This finding can be related^{to} the fact that our society is male dominated with its own social and cultural dynamics. The data also show that better economic conditions

reduce the mortality rates considerably. The results reveal that factors like age, landholding and occupation are positively associated with number of children, education and caste are negatively associated. In other words, older low caste respondents with large landholding and owner cultivators have more children than high caste and educated respondents.

Elite in the rural population have both specifically positive and negative roles in the development process. Elite, and particularly political elite, have to maintain their status and position and they try to bring infrastructural facilities like roads, transports, health centers, etc. in the villages for the general welfare. Elite convey the village problems to concerned higher authorities: firstly, to pose themselves as leaders and wellwishers of the villagers, and, secondly, to gain popularity among villagers. Economic elite give money (though on interest) to needy persons at the time of some crisis; thus timely financial help is available to needy persons due to presence of elite. Elite convey the modern ideologies and policies to common villagers. They convey to them the benefits of small family, methods of family planning, new loaning schemes, new variety of seeds and fertilizers and tell them about new political and official changes at block and district levels. In order to gain the

sympathy of common villager they often help the needy in getting benefits like loans, seeds, fertilizers and help their children to get admission in city schools/colleges, avail medical facilities and several other ways. They keep contacts with nearest police- stations, courts, district lawyers, etc. and use these contacts to show their influence to their fellow villagers. Elite often act as 'compromiser' between two individuals or groups. Whenever some kind of conflict is there, elite will try to resolve the matter by pacifying both the parties and often their efforts are successful. Since most of elite own large landholdings, they engage labourers in their fields. Thus they provide employment to otherwise unemployed landless labourers.

Besides above positive roles, presence of elite also hamper the smooth and speedy development process. They have some vested interests in maintaining the social stratification and therefore some negative functions by them can also be observed. Elite (particularly political elite) utilize the gramsabha land for their own agricultural purposes, while land should be distributed among landless of the village. Government funds for the infrastructure development of the village come to Gram Pradhan only. He uses his privileged position to get the roads constructed first in his own locality even when the conditions of other localities are worse. He

also spends lot of public money in the maintenance and beautification of his own locality only. Thus, he misuses the funds more for selfish ends than for community purposes. One of most effecting negative function of elite can be identified is his selection of beneficiary. He generally identifies the members of his own community, his friends, his associates and those with whom he has good relations in the beneficiary list of potential beneficiaries. Demonstration package programmes are also held in his own fields. These things effect the real target group and thus uneven development takes place. Elite class and particularly economic elite are engaged in money leanding business. They charge very high rate of interest ranging from 25% to even 75% per day to per year. Rich famers also engage labourers on daily wages in their fields. They give them less than prescribed wages; the average wage rate is 7 to 10 rupees per day in the villages. They also put the labourers to extra and heavy work. Elite have the capacity of suppressing a person if he raises his voice against them. Common villager is scared of them and he generally surrenders silently before his exploitation. Children of elite need not go to schools daily, they always pass in exams as village school teachers can continue in the village only on the mercy of village elite. Specific positive and negative roles of elite have been shown in the following tables.

Table 8.1

Positive Roles of Elite

1. Identification and verification of beneficiary list
2. Helping the commoners in getting the loan.
3. Propagating the benefits of education.
4. Request the school teacher to do his duty well.
5. Helping the adult education programme.
6. Helping financially to poor children in getting education.
7. Helped in the construction of brick path inside the village - through efforts, subscription and shramdan.
8. Conveyed village problems to concerned higher administrative and political authorities.
9. Acting as CHW and supplying medicines to needy.
10. One elite gave one room to a doctor free of rent for medical shop-cum-clinic.
11. Conveyed the benefits of FP to village people through meetings and discussions and persuaded people to adopt FP.
12. Elite themselves adopt family planning techniques - creating self- examples.
13. Pradhan allotted 1/4 of gram-sabha fund for different developmental schemes.
14. Few elite also constantly checked the distribution of seeds, fertilizers, etc.
15. Convey the modern development, ideologies and changes to rural mass.
16. Help in school/courts/police/banks matters.
17. Acting as 'compromiser' between two groups.
18. Financial help to needy people.

Table 8.2

Negative Roles of Elite

1. They utilize gramsabha land for their own use.
2. They use their power positions to get the roads constructed of their own locality - even when the conditions of other areas are worse.
3. Wrong identification/verification of beneficiaries.
4. They charge high rate of interest.
5. They misuse their power positions often dominating the commoners.
6. They take commission/bribery for getting the work done at courts/police/offices, etc.
7. Children of elite need not to go to schools daily and they always pass - as village teachers can continue in the villages during elite - pleasure only.
8. Elite never intend that poor should come up to their level - as the pressure their own status and position.

The analysis of elite shows some other important dimensions along with their roles in the development process. These dimensions help us to understand the phenomenon of elite class as such in village life. As mentioned earlier too, elite are socially, economically and politically better-off sections of society. The three kinds of elite-

political, economic and educational often overlap. All the three dimensions can even be found in one single individual. Political elite maintain good relations with all categories of people and particularly with the people of their own community - as their power-positions largely depend on their popularity in the general population of the village. Economic elite maintain ordinary relations with fellow villagers, but they maintain 'very good' or 'good' relations with fellows of his own caste, class and educational background. Educational elite maintain ordinary relations with all categories of people and better relations with their own background people. Political elite contribute more than other two kinds of elite in village matters, though even their own contributions are not of much significance. Educational elite contribute least in village matters. More villagers are benefited through political elite than through economic and educational elite. Elite generally help more the people of their own community than the other people. Since many people are benefited through political elite, most of villagers expect help from political elite only; a significant proportion also expect help from economic and educational elite. Political life of elite is limited. They are generally not formal members of any political party, but they do favour particular political party in the elections. The main purview of their politics is their own village. All of elite are aware of village health, education

and other problems but they do not make any satisfactory efforts in those directions.

Our findings establish that the model, shown in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1), is applicable to rural Indian society to a large extent and the flows in the real life situation are almost similar as shown in the model. The data show that the distribution of resources is quite uneven in rural society. Respondents belonging to dominant agricultural caste, better economic status, higher educated category possess high potential for control. They have also been identified as elite in the society through 'positional' and 'reputational' approaches. All elite are not power elite, but they influence the non-elite in different ways. In the sample villages, the basis of power are multifold. Some bases are traditional as ownership of land, caste status etc. and others are newly acquired such as education and political leadership. There is however, high correlation between elite statuses of various kinds. Apparently, resources of one type have helped the members of village community in obtaining elite status of the other type and therefore, there is a tendency towards polarization. Further, elite could be divided into two categories on the basis of their desire and non-desire to gain political power in society. For example, in the investigated village 'A', one elite Mahabir Lal was economically most prosperous resident of the village. He owned chakkis, two buses, one private taxi,

one Video parlour in the city and possessed very large agricultural land. But he had low political motivation and therefore neither he intended to contest for village- elections, nor he had developed linkage at higher level. He had higher motivation to strengthen his economic status only, and he was successful in that. On the other hand, Pitambar Lal was economically moderate — neither very rich nor poor — but his political motivations were too high. He had developed contacts at higher levels, and gained popularity in the village. He contested for the post of village Pradhan and won. Therefore, differences in motivation, skill and use of resources are important factors which cause differences between elite themselves.

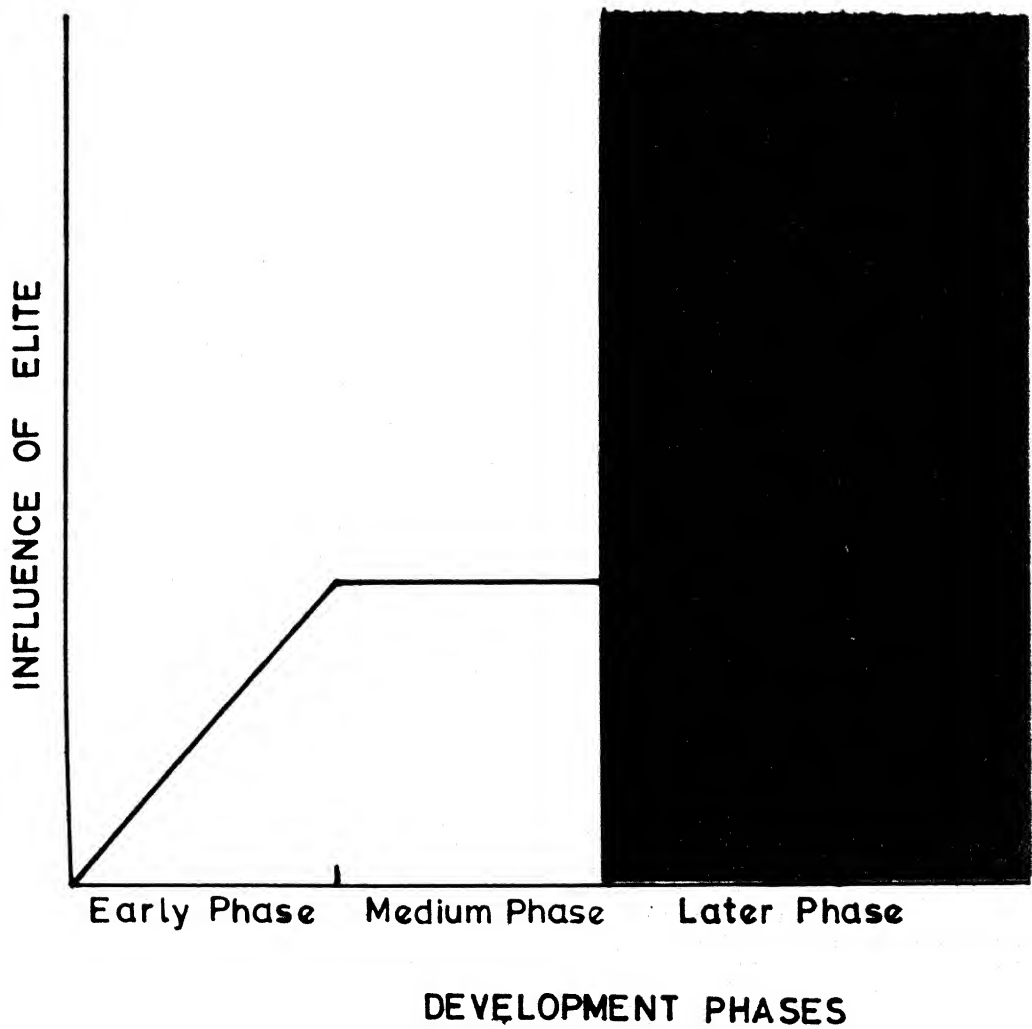
Further, elite had the capacity to influence the actions and behaviour of non-elite with different intensities. Our findings establish that elite had influenced the non-elite in numerous ways. Influential behaviour of elite is infact one of the major determinant of their role in the development of the underdeveloped. We found that elite had both positive and negative role affecting the non-elite. However, there were hardly any roles which we could call creating neutral effects.

Motives of elite produce significant effects on their behaviour. Basic motive of elite class as reported by most of the respondents, and also observed, was the preservation of their self-interest. They had received better facilities,

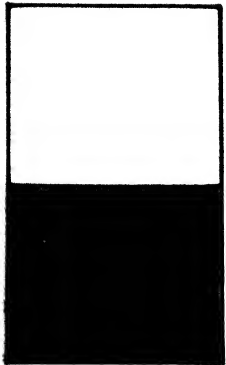
more development inputs in the form of loans, education, fertilizers, agricultural inputs, etc. and these benefits have further strengthened their resource capacity. Thus, it suggests that the model used in the study, is highly relevant. However, though the research model is rigid, which assumes that the position of elite vis-a-vis non-elite remains stable, nevertheless, it could be observed that this is not always true. There is a possibility for non-elite too to become elite depending upon his motivations, circumstances and achievements. But this possibility is very less. Possibility of circulation of elite has been shown in the following revised research model (Model 8.1).

The development strategies will succeed only upto a certain limit in the present set of framework, where economic and power growth is mediated by social structure, and strategies to modify the structure as such are not adopted. Following graph (8.2) shows the phases of development and their effect on elite's status and vice-versa.

The graph (Fig. 8.2) represents that during the early phase of development, influence of elite will increase with development, as people in this stage largely depend upon elite for benefits and other gains. In the medium phase, elite influence will normally remain constant with the development process, but this phase will continue only upto a certain limit and beyond it, i.e., in the later phase of



Nature of elite influence



Elite contributing positively in development

Elite attempting to obstruct development

FIG.8.2 DEVELOPMENT AND NATURE OF ELITE INFLUENCE

development, influence of elite will decrease as commoners at this stage might have gained a certain level of personality, social and economic development and therefore, they would not need much to depend upon elite. Elite, in order to maintain their status and influence, may act in such a way that development of rural mass may suffer at this stage. Though, the model is constructed particularly in the context of developing village societies, but cynchronic correlations between growth and distribution of income and other resources, which are well established international facts, present no inconsistency in the structure of this model. In this context, it is notable that the village society under investigation is in the first phase of development. Development caused in these societies by the external/environmental factors is likely to increase social gap between elite and non-elite.

Elite and non-elite constitute two separate classes in this study. Both classes have antagonistic ideologies, perceptions and interests. Elite intend to strive for power position to seek maximum benefits. In the present kind of changing society, the nature of exploitation of poor by elite is also changed. Today elite, using his superior position, grab maximum benefits, primarily, meant for poor. This strengthens elite-status and position on the one hand, and accelerates the conflict between the two classes on the other hand. In place of direct exploitation of poor in forms of

bonded labour, surplus generation, high rate of interest, social and cultural boycott, indirect exploitation in the form of high dependency on elite for gaining government benefits, employment, water for irrigation, etc. have taken place. In fact, strategies adopted for the establishment of egalitarian society have little effect on the status of elite class. Their ways of exploitation have of course been changed, but exploitation is still there.

Elite circulate and change with the time and circumstances. New elite emerge from the lower strata (Pareto, 1935). If a non-elite belonging to lower economic category, lower caste, anyhow manages to get education, good job or wins some important political post or wins the confidence and popularity among his fellow-villagers through establishing network at block and district level, and is helping other non-elite in getting the benefits, may emerge a elite. Such elite are likely to play more positive roles in implementation of development strategies. Besides it, individuals in the lower strata itself may form 'new elite-group' which then engage, in struggle for power with the existing elite. When non-elite feel that even formal elite are not helping them and are always busy in strengthening their own status, they wish to replace those elite. And at that time, if someone , particularly of their own stratum is willing to take initiative, he emerges as elite of that stratum. Then other non-elite, under the leadership of this

new elite, engage in a struggle for power with the existing elite. However, in a democratic setup like ours, throwing away of elite is generally not by force.

About the limitations of this thesis, the first and foremost limitation is its limited power of generalization. Being constraint by time and other resources we could carry out this study in only two villages of west U.P. in rather close proximity. Indian social structure shows great variation from region to region and the inferences of the studies attempting at the response of the structure to the development are therefore likely to provide variable findings in different parts of the country (Subbarao, 1985: 1829). Another limitation of the thesis is that we have included only three developmental schemes in the analysis, which may cause a scheme- effect on the results. In other words if other development schemes such as NREP, TRYSEM, irrigation, agricultural inputs, civic amenities, etc. are examined the conclusions may be at some variance from the results of this thesis. The thesis has not paid sufficient attention to the interaction between elite and external environment and also interaction among the members of elite class. Finally, the thesis concentrates mainly on the contemporary issues in development and does not pay attention to historical aspects of development and planning in micro-context.

Experience shows that in rural society alternative methodologies to structured surveys proved to be highly beneficial. Future research in this area may concentrate on ethnographic dimensions of the problem should the need for village studies arise. There is also a need for examining the motives and orientation of the elite in order to understand the psychological basis of their participation. Studies of cognitive, conitive and effective aspects of elite intervention and history of development of the communities should compliment the sociological insights into the problem, which can provide with a total and synoptical picture of the issues under investigation.

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APPENDIX

Money Allotted to Different Banks (1980-85)
(In Lakh Rupees)

Name of Banks	Agricu- lture	Minor Irrigation	Catteling Industry		Total
District Cooperative Banks	91.03	-	68.44	41.84	201.31
Land Develop- ment Bank	47.30	213.35	9.35	270.23	540.23
PNB	138.55	14.21	81.81	128.77	363.34
SBI	76.70	8.34	46.14	84.09	215.27
Kisan Grameen Bank	50.88	3.68	32.17	51.19	137.92
Allahabad Bank	4.76	-	2.76	0.60	8.12
Central Bank	2.80	-	1.50	-	4.30
Bank of Baroda	0.63	-	1.30	0.50	2.43
Total	412.65	239.58	243.47	577.22	1472.90

Source: Five Year Perspective Plan (1980-85), IRDP
District Rural Development Division, Badaun.